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A

HISTORY

OF THE

MILITARY TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

BRITISH NATION

IN

INDOSTAN,

FROM THE YEAR MDCCXLV.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A DISSERTATION ON THE ESTABLISHMENTS MADE BY MAHOMEDAN CONQUERORS IN INDOSTAN.

BY ROBERT ORME, Esq. F. A. S.

VOL. I.

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TO HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

GEORGE THE THIRD,

THIS ATTEMPT
TO COMMEMORATE THE SUCCESSES
OF THE BRITISH ARMS
IN INDOSTAN

IS MOST HUMBLY DEDICATED

BY HIS MAJESTY'S
MOST DUTIFUL SERVANT,
AND MOST FAITHFUL SUBJECT,

THE AUTHOR.

A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

ESTABLISHMENTS

MADE BY

MAHOMEDAN CONQUERORS IN INDOSTAN.

SECTION I.

EUROPEANS understand by the East-Indies all the countries and empires, which lying south of Tartary, extend from the eastern frontiers of Persia, to the eastern coasts of China. The islands of Japan are likewise included in this denomination; as are all the Malay islands, in which the Dutch have such valuable possessions, and which extend to the southward, as far as the coasts of New Holland, and eastward to lands unknown.

BUT the name of India can only with propriety be applied to the country which is distinguished in Asia as well as in Europe by the name of Indostan.

THAT part of the western side of Indostan, which is not bounded by the sea, is separated from Persia and the Usbeg Tartary by desarts, and

by those mountains which were known to the ancients under the name of Paropamisus: Mount Caucasus forms its barrier to the north, separating it from various nations of Tartars, from the great and little Thibet. From mount Caucasus to Chitigan, marshes and rivers divide it from the kingdoms of Tepra, Assam, and Aracan: the sea, from Chitigan to cape Comorin and from hence to Persia, embraces the rest of Indostan.

THIS great extent of country has been inhabited, from the earliest antiquity, by a people who have no resemblance either in their figures or manners with any of the nations which are contiguous to them. Although these nations have at different times sent conquerors amongst them, who have established themselves in different parts of the country: although the Mogul Tartars under Tamerlane and his successors have at last rendered themselves lords of almost the whole of it; yet the original inhabitants have lost very little of their original character by the establishment of these strangers amongst them.

BESIDES the particular denominations which they receive from the casts and countries in which they are born, there is one more general, which is applied indiscriminately to distinguish the original natives from all who have intruded themselves amongst them, Hendoo, from whence Indian.

THE Indians have lost all memory of the ages in which they began to believe in VISTNOU, ESWARA, BRAMA, and a hundred thousand divinities subordinate to these. These divinities are worshipped in temples called Pagodas in every part of Indostan, the whole extent of which is holy land to its inhabitants; for there is no part in which some divinity has not appeared and done something to merit a temple and priests to take care of it. Some of these fabrics are of immemorial antiquity: they are at the same time monuments of such stupendous labour, that they are supposed to have been built by the gods to whom they are consecrated.

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The history of these gods is a heap of the greatest absurdities. It is Eswara twisting off the neck of Brama; it is the Sun, who gets his teeth knocked out, and the Moon, who has her face beat black and blue at a feast, at which the gods quarrel and fight with the spirit of a mob. They say that the Sun and Moon carry in their faces to this day the marks of this broil. Here and there a moral or metaphysical allegory, and sometimes a trace of the history of a first legislator, is discernible in these stories; but in general they are so very extravagant and incoherent, that we should be left to wonder how a people so reasonable in other respects should have adopted such a code of nonsense as a creed of religion, did we not find the same credulity in the histories of nations much more enlightened.

The Bramins, who are the tribe of the priesthood, descend from those Brachmans who are mentioned to us with so much reverence by antiquity; and although much inferior either as philosophers or men of learning to the reputation of their ancestors, as priests their religious doctrines are still implicitly followed by the whole nation; and as preceptors they are the source of all the knowledge which exists in Indostan.

Even at this day some of them are capable of calculating an eclipse, which seems to be the utmost stretch of their mathematical knowledge. They have a good idea of logic; but it does not appear that they have any treatises on rhetoric; their ideas of music, if we may judge from the practice, are barbarous; and in medicine they derive no assistance from the knowledge of anatomy, since dissections are repugnant to their religion.

They shed no blood and eat no flesh, because they believe in the transmigration of souls; they encourage wives to burn themselves with their deceased husbands, and seem to make the perfection of religion consist in a punctual observance of numerous ceremonies performed in the worship of their gods, and in a strict attention to keep their bodies free from pollution. Hence purifications and

 ablutions,

ablutions, as dictated by their scriptures, are scrupulously observed by them, and take up no small portion of their time.

A BRAMIN cannot eat any thing which has been prepared or even touched by any other hand than that of a Bramin, and from the same principle, cannot be married to a person of any other cast in the kingdom, because his own cast is the highest, even above that of the kings. They say that they were formerly the kings of the whole country, and preserve to this day the privilege of commuting capital punishment, when merited, by the loss of their eyes. To kill a Bramin is one of the five sins for which there is scarce any expiation.

THE pre-eminence of the Bramins admitted, it seems as if the Indians had determined to compensate the odium of such a superiority, by forming themselves into a number of distinct tribes or gradations of people, who respectively submit to the different degrees of estimation in which they have at last agreed to abide, as implicitly as the whole agree to acknowledge the superiority of the Bramins.

THE many temporal advantages which the Bramins derive from their spiritual authority, and the impossibility of being admitted into their tribe, have perhaps given rise to that number of Joguees and Facquires, who torture themselves with such various and astonishing penances, only to gain the same veneration which a Bramin derives from his birth.

THE casts or tribes into which the Indians are divided, are reckoned by travellers to be eighty-four : perhaps when India shall be better known, we shall find them to be many more ; for there is a singular disposition in the Indian, from very trifling circumstances to form a sect apart from the rest of his neighbours. But the order of pre-eminence of all the casts in a particular city or province, is generally indisputably decided. The Indian of an inferior would think himself honoured by adopting the customs of a superior cast ; but this would give battle sooner than not vindicate its prerogatives : the inferior

ferior receives the victuals prepared by a superior cast with respect, but the superior will not partake of a meal which has been prepared by the hands of an inferior cast. Their marriages are circumscribed by the same barriers as the rest of their intercourses ; and hence, besides the national physiognomy, the members of each cast preserve an air of still greater resemblance to one another. There are some casts remarkable for their beauty, others as remarkable for their ugliness.

ALL these casts acknowledge the Bramins for their priests, and with them admit the transmigration. In devotion to this opinion some afflict themselves at the death of a fly, although occasioned by inadvertence. But the far greater number of casts are not so scrupulous, and eat, although very sparingly, both of fish and flesh ; but, like the Jews, not of all kinds indifferently.

THEIR diet is chiefly rice and vegetables dressed with ginger, turmeric, and other hotter spices, which grow almost spontaneously in their gardens. They esteem milk the purest of foods, because, they think it partakes of some of the properties of the nectar of their gods, and because they esteem the cow itself almost a divinity.

AN abhorrence to the shedding of blood, derived from his religion, and seconded by the great temperance of a life which is passed by most of them in a very sparing use of animal food, and a total abstinence from intoxicating liquors ; the influence of the most regular of climates, in which the great heat of the sun and the great fertility of the soil lessen most of the wants to which the human species is subject in austerer regions, and supply the rest without the exertion of much labour ; these causes, with various consequences from them, have all together contributed to render the Indian the most enervated inhabitant of the globe.

HE shudders at the sight of blood, and is of a pusillanimity only to be excused and accounted for by the great delicacy of his configura-

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tion. This is so slight as to give him no chance of opposing with success the onset of an inhabitant of more northern regions.

His manners are gentle; his happiness consists in the solaces of a domestic life; to which sufficiently inclined by the climate, he is obliged by his religion, which esteems matrimony a duty indispensible in every man who does not quit the world to unite himself to God: such is their phrase. Although permitted by his religion, according to the example of his gods, to have several, he is seldom the husband of more than one wife: and this wife is of a decency of demeanour, of a sollicitude in her family, and of a fidelity to her vows, which might do honour to human nature in the most civilized countries.

His amusements consist in going to his Pagoda, in assisting at religious shews, in fulfilling a variety of ceremonies prescribed to him on all occasions, by the Bramin; for, subject to a thousand lapses from the ideas he has adopted of impurity, the Indian is always offending his gods, who are not to be appeased untill their priest is satisfied.

In a country of such great extent, divided into so many distinct sovereignties, it cannot be expected that there should be no exceptions to one general assertion of the character of the inhabitants. There is every where in the mountains a wild inhabitant, whose bow an European can scarcely draw. There are in the woods people who subsist by their incursions into the neighbouring plains, and who, without the ferocity of the American, possess all his treachery; and according to Mr. Thevenot, India has had its cannibals in the centre of one of the most cultivated provinces of the empire. The Rajpouts by their courage have preserved themselves almost independant of the Great Mogul. The inhabitants of the countries still nearer to the mountains of the frontier, distinguished by the activity of their character from the indolence of the rest of the nation, have easily turned Mahomedans; these northern converts we suppose to be the origin of the present Affghans and Pitans, who are the best troops

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in the emperor's service, and the most dangerous enemies of the throne when in arms against it.

THE arts which furnish the conveniences of life have been carried by the Indians to a pitch far beyond what is necessary to supply the wants of a climate which knows so few. At the same time no ideas of taste or fine design have existed among them: and we seek in vain for elegance in the magnificence of the richest empire of the globe.

THEIR knowledge of mechanical powers is so very confined, that we are left to admire, without being able to account for, the manner in which they have erected their capital Pagodas. It does not appear that they had ever made a bridge of arches over any of their rivers, before the Mahomedans came amongst them.

IT is to the suppleness with which the whole frame of an Indian is endowed, and which is still more remarkable in the configuration of his hand, that we are indebted for the exquisite perfection of their manufactures of linnen. The same instruments which an Indian employs to make a piece of cambric, would, under the rigid fingers of an European, scarcely produce a piece of canvass.

HIS religion forbids the Indian to quit his own shores: he wants nothing from abroad: he is so far from being sollicitous to convert the stranger to his own opinions, or from wishing him to assimilate with the nation, that if a foreigner were to sollicit the privilege of worshipping Vistnou, his proposal would be received with the utmost contempt.

NOTHING seems to have been wanting to the happiness of this nation, but that others should have looked on them with the same indifference with which they regard the rest of the world. But not content with the presents which nature has showered on their climate, they have made improvements when they felt no necessities. They have cultivated the various and valuable productions of their

soil

soil, not to the measure of their own, but to that of the wants of all other nations; they have carried their manufactures of linnen to a perfection which surpasses the most exquisite productions of Europe, and have encouraged with avidity the annual tributes of gold and silver which the rest of the world contest for the privilege of sending to them. They have from time immemorial been as addicted to commerce, as they are averse to war. They have therefore always been immensely rich, and have always remained incapable of defending their wealth.

SECTION II.

LONG before Tamerlane, mahomedan princes had entered, made conquests, and established themselves in India.

VALID, the 6th of the Kalifs named Ommiades, who ascended the throne in the year 708 of our Æra, and in the 90th of the Hegira, made conquests in India; so that the Alcoran was introduced very early into this country.

MAHMOUD, son of Sebegtechin, prince of GAZNA, the capital of a province separated by mountains from the north-west parts of India, and situated near Kandahar, carried the Alcoran with the sword into Indostan in the year 1000 or 1002 of our Æra. He maintained himself in a vast extent of territory out of, and seems to have subdued as large a one in India, if it is true that he carried his conquests as far to the south as the present capital of the kingdom of Visiapore near Goa. He treated the Indians with all the rigor of a conqueror and all the fury of a converter, plundering treasures, demolishing temples, and murdering idolaters throughout his rout. His historians are quite extravagant in their descriptions of the wealth he found in Indostan. One of them says, no doubt allegorically, that he found a tree growing out of the earth to an enormous size, of which the substance was pure gold, and this the effect of nature.

THE successors of this Mahmoud are called, from the capital of their dominions, the dynasty of the Gaznavides, and maintained themselves in a great part of the countries which he had conquered in India until the year 1155, or 1157, when KOSROU SCHAH, the 13th and last prince of Gazna, and of the Gaznavide race, was deposed by HUSSAIN GAURI, so called from the country in which he was born. Gaur, a province lying to the north of Gazna.

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THIS Hussain founded the dynasty of the GAURIDES, which furnished five princes who possessed in and out of India nearly the same dominions as their predecessors the Gaznavides, and like them made Gazna their capital.

SCHEABBEDIN, the 4th of the Gauride emperors, during the life of his brother and predecessor GAIATHEDDIN, conquered the kingdoms of Multan and Delhi. He drew such immense treasures out of India, that his favourite daughter inquiring of the officer who had the care of them, to what value they amounted, the treasurer answered, that there was the weight of three thousand pounds in diamonds only, by which she might judge of the rest : after deductions made for oriental exaggeration, we may still gather from this anecdote, that his conquests in India had given him great wealth. An Indian, rendered desperate by the pollutions and insults to which he saw his gods and temples exposed, made a vow to assassinate Scheabbedin, and executed it.

THE race of Gaurides finished in the year 1212, in the person of MAHMOUD, successor and nephew to Scheabbedin. The days of this Mahmoud, like those of his uncle, though for a different cause, were cut off by the swords of assassins. Whatever dominions Mahmond possessed out of India, he does not seem to have had any great influence in it, or even in Gazna itself ; he, contrary to the practice of his predecessors, made not this city the capital of his sovereignty. His uncle Scheabbedin, who had no children, and was remarkable for a spirit of adoption, had prepared the dismemberment of the Indian provinces from the empire of Gazna, by giving the government of two of them to two of his slaves. Nassereddin received from him the countries of Multan, Cothbeddin-Ibeck those of Delhi. At the same time he made another of his slaves, Tageddin-Ildiz, governor of Gazna.

IN the year 1214 MOHAMED, the 6th Sultan of the dynasty of the KHOWARASMIANS, whose terriories were contiguous to those of the Gaurides, took Gazna from the slave who had succeeded the slave Tageddin-

Tageddin-Ildiz in the government of that city. But although he conquered the capital of their empire, it does not appear that he fixed himself in the Indian dominions of the Gaurides. He imprudently quarrelled with Gingischan, and in the year 1218 was compelled to fly before the arms of that mighty conqueror. In the year 1220 he died a fugitive, at a great distance from India.

The brave Gelaladdin, son of Mohamed, made head in the province of Gazna against the forces of Gingischan : in the year 1221 he was so hard pressed by them as to be forced to fly into India, where, on the western banks of the Indus, he was totally defeated by Gingischan in person, but saved his life by swimming the river with an intrepidity which raised admiration in Gingischan himself. He remained in Multan until the year 1224, when he left India never more to return to it. He was killed in 1231 in Mesopotamia.

With Gelaladdin finished the dynasty of the Khowarasmians ; and what share Gingischan or his successors took in the affairs of Indostan, we have not had the good fortune to discover. We find that one Turmechirin Chan, stiled in Tamerlane's history a descendant of Gengis, and one of the great emperors of Asia, penetrated in the year 1240 to the city of Mirte lying to the north-east of Delhi, and made conquests which preserved great reputation to his name in India, until the appearance of Tamerlane ; but these conquests did not expel from the sovereignty the family which at that time reigned in Delhi.

Cothbeddin-ibeck, the slave of Scheabbedin, rendered himself independant in the sovereignty of Delhi, which had been given to him by his master only in vicegerence. He extended the Mahomedan dominions, and died peaceably on his throne in the year 1219. He was succeeded by his son Aramschah, who was deposed by his father's slave Iletmische Schamseddin.

This Iletmische conquered from the slave Nassereddin the provinces which composed the new kingdom of Multan. By uniting these to the provinces of Delhi, and by governing all these dominions in person without interesting himself in what passed out of India, he became the first regular and the most powerful Mahomedan monarch who had hitherto reigned in Indostan. He died in the year 1235.

His descendants formed the dynasty of the first Mahomedan Kings of Delhi.

Firouzchah Rocneddin succeeded his father Iletmische, and before he had reigned a year was deposed by his discontented grandees, who placed his sister Radhiateddin upon the throne; an extraordinary phænomenon in a Mahomedan government. This female sovereign was, after various adventures, deposed by her brother Beharam Schah, and killed in attempting to make her escape from him.

Beharam Schah, after reigning two years, was killed in a revolt. Massoudschah Alaeddin, son of Firouz Schah Rocneddin, then mounted the throne, and in the year 1246 was deposed by his brother Mahmoud Schah Nassereddin, who made great conquests in India.

After the death of Mahmoud Nassereddin, Firouz his uncle and Alaeddin his nephew disputed the throne. Alaeddin caused Firouz to be assassinated, and remained in possession of the throne of Delhi until the year 1317.

Here we arrive at a chasm of near 80 years in the history of these kings, which our guide Mons. D'Herbelot could not find materials to fill up. Sultan Mahmoud, who reigned at Delhi in the year 1398, is stiled by Tamerlane's historian the grandson of the emperor Firouz Schah, concerning which Firouz Schah we can determine nothing more than that he was of the family of Iletmische.

 Mahmoud

MAHMOUD SCHAH, a weak prince, was governed absolutely by his vizir Mellou Cawn, who placed his brother Sarenk in the government of the provinces which depended on the city of Multan, and the two brothers between them ruled the whole kingdom, without any other than a nominal interposition of their sovereign.

THE Mirza Pir Mohammed Gehanguir had in the year 1392 received from his grandfather Tamerlane the sovereignty of all the countries which had formed the empire of Mahmoud the Khowarasmian, whom Gengischan conquered, and who was father of the brave Gelaleddin. Pir Mohammed, at the end of the year 1397, or the beginning of the year 1398, set out from his capital of Gazna, advanced with a numerous army to Multan, and laid siege to the city, which was well defended by Sarenk.

DURING the siege TAMERLANE was advancing from Samarcande. He entered India at the end of the year 1398, descending more terrible than all its inundations from the centre of the northern part of the Indian Caucasus. This invincible barbarian met with no resistance from the Indians sufficient to justify, even by the military maxims of Tartars, the cruelties with which he marked his way. He was joined near Multan by his grandson, who had now taken that city, and took in person the strong fortress of Batnir; after which he marched towards Delhi. Here sultan Mahmoud, with his vizir, had the courage to stand their ground, determined to risk a battle with forces every way inferior to their enemies.

TAMERLANE, when in sight of their army, ordered a hundred thousand prisoners, which his own army had gathered in their rout, to be put to death, because they were idolaters, and because some of these wretches had betrayed symptoms of satisfaction at the sight of a skirmish which had been fought with a party of Sultan Mahmoud's cavalry. As these marks of disaffection had raised the apprehension of a general insurrection of the slaves, during the battle which

which was impending, Tamerlane enforced his order with the greatest rigour, and it was executed with the utmost diligence.

Two or three days after this massacre, Tamerlane gave battle, and was, as ever, victorious. Sultan Mahmoud and his vizir fled into Delhi, and in the night fled out of it.

Delhi was taken without resistance, and its inhabitants were subjected to the same pillage and cruelties, which we have seen renewed in this century by Thamas Kouli Khan in the present capital of Indostan, which, although bearing the same name, is not situated exactly on the same spot as the antient Delhi.

After having made the regulations necessary to calm the convulsions which his cruelties had raised in the inhabitants of the metropolis of Indostan, Tamerlane marched to the north-east towards the Ganges, not without resistance maintained in some places with resolution, but in all without success. He crossed the Ganges at Toglipoor, and exposing his person in every skirmish that offered with the spirit of a volunteer, advanced to the straights of Kupele.

At the foot of the mountains called Kentassi, in the country of Thibet, and in that part of them which lies between the thirty-first and thirty-second degree of latitude and between the ninety-eighth and the hundredth degree of longitude, the Ganges, formed from several sources, passes successively two great lakes, and flows to the west until the opposition of a part of the Indian Caucasus turns it to the south, and soon after to the south-east, when at length flowing due south, and having completed in these various directions a course of two hundred leagues, it enters India by forcing its passage through the mountains of the frontier.

The pass through which the Ganges disembogues itself into Indostan is called the straights of Kupele, which are distant from Delhi about 30 leagues, in the longitude of 96, and in the latitude of 30. 2.

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These straights are believed by the Indians, who look very little abroad, to be the sources of the Ganges ; and a rock 15 miles distant from them, bearing some resemblance to the head of a cow, has joined in the same part of the kingdom two very important objects of their religion ; the grand image of the animal which they almost venerate as a divinity, and the first appearance of that immense body of holy water which washes away all their sins.

A GREAT multitude of Indians were assembled, probably for the celebration of a feast, at the straights of Kupele. They made some shew of resistance against Tamerlane's army, but were no sooner attacked than dispersed. The field of this victory is the most distant term of Tamerlane's conquests in India and on the globe.

HE now prepared to return to his capital of Samarcande, and repassed the Ganges ; after which he directed his march along the foot of mount Caucasus, until he arrived at the southern frontiers of Kashmire, the mahomedan king of which country sent ambassadors to make submission. As this rout was through countries which the army had not hitherto passed, the sword was not yet sheathed, but large detachments were making excursions to the south, whilst Tamerlane reserved to himself the task of subduing the mountaineers who made any resistance, or refused to acknowledge his sovereignty.

FROM the frontiers of Kashmire to the frontiers of Indostan, the army passed through countries which had submitted to Tamerlane at his entrance into India ; and the march out of India was through the mountains of Sheberto, a part of the Caucasus. From hence Tamerlane hastened to Samarcande. Having reposed a few months in this capital of his vast dominions, he set out on the great expedition in which he subdued Syria and the Kalif of Egypt, vanquished Bajazet, and by the addition of these conquests to those he had made before, rendered himself lord of an empire which extended from Smyrna to the banks of the Ganges.

TAMER-

TAMERLANE never returned into India, but added the conquests he had made in it to the government of his grandson Pir Mohammed Gehanguir, who ruled from Gazna the mahomedan dominions of Indostan until the death of his grandfather, which happened in the year 1404. An event in which so many princes were interested did not fail to raise great commotions amongst the princes of his family. On his death-bed Tamerlane named Pir Mohammed Gehan Ghir the universal heir of all his dominions. The contempt with which his will was treated after his death, was equal to the veneration which had been paid to his authority during his life. The sultan Khalil, another of his grandsons, immediately took possession of the capital of Samarcande, and proclaimed himself emperor. Pir Mohammed did not live long enough to assert his rights, but was assassinated six months after the death of his grandfather.

THE sultan Sharock, the youngest of the two surviving sons of Tamerlane, succeeded to the inheritance designed for Gehan Ghir: he reigned near 42 years, during which the conquests of his father in India seem to have remained in subjection to his authority.

THERE is in Europe an excellent history of the life of this prince, and of his descendants, continued to the year 1497. There are likewise in England materials sufficient to form a history of the dependance in which India remained to the posterity of Tamerlane, until one of them erected the new dynasty of mahomedan emperors in Indostan, which is that of the present great Moguls; but these tracts, hitherto little regarded by those, whose fortunes alone could furnish the expence of presenting them to the public in languages of common use, remain out of the reach of public curiosity by the difficulties attending the study of those in which they are written.

A FEW scraps detached from one another by considerable intervals of time, and by subjects of little connection with each other, would be of little

little use to guide us through such a length of obscurity as that in which we view at present the history of Tamerlane's successors in India, until the time of Sultan Babr : and this obscurity must remain, until the original histories brought into England by Mr. Frazer, or others equivalent to them, shall be published.

THE SULTAN BABR was the 6th in descent, not from Sharoch, but from the Mirza Miran Schah, another of the sons of Tamerlane ; this Babr, yielding to the conquests of the Usbeg Tartars, retired from the country of Mawhranhar towards India : after making several expeditions into Indostan, he at last in the year 1526 defeated Sultan Ibrahim Loudi, and became emperor of Delhi. Who Sultan Ibrahim Loudi was, will in all probability be known, when the commentaries of Sultan Babr, written by himself, and which are at Oxford, shall be translated. After making still farther conquests in Indostan, Sultan Babr died near Agra in December of the year 1530.

THE pride of the Great Moguls descended from Sultan Babr, in vaunting in their titles and on all other occasions, their descent from Tamerlane, has given rise to the common belief, that the throne of Delhi, and the whole extent of the conquests made by Tamerlane in India, were maintained by his posterity in a regular filiation, and without interruption. But such a succession would have given no room for Sultan Babr's conquests over a stranger, as Sultan Loudi appears to be, and would have excluded him from the honour of being the founder of the present dynasty of Great Moguls.

HOMAION succeeded to his father Babr, and in 1540 fled into Persia before the Pitans, whom we imagine to have been the Mahomedan subjects of Sultan Ibrahim Loudi conquered by Babr. By the assistance of the king of Persia Homaion recovered his empire in 1555, and died in 1556. Before his flight he had conquered and added to the Mogul dominions the kingdoms of Guzerat and Malva ; he had likewise taken possession of the kingdom of Bengal.

ACBAR succeeded his father Homaion, and died, after a reign of near 50 years, in 1605. He extended the empire, but not so far to the southward as to prevent him from vouchsafing to stile the king of Portugal his neighbour, in virtue of the territories possessed by this nation near Goa on the coast of Malabar.

To Acbar succeeded his son JEHANGUIR, who died, in 1627. A weak prince, enslaved by the influence of his mistress Nourjehan, confined in his person, and constrained in his government, by the ambition of his son Gehan Schah. Sir Thomas Roe was sent embassador to Jehanguir by king James the first.

SCHAH GEHAN succeeded to his father Jehanguir; and after a reign successful until the change of his fortunes, to which a sickness of languor occasioned by intemperance in his seraglio gave rise, was deposed and confined by his son Aurengzebe, and died in 1666.

THERE is not a more curious piece of history than that of the rebellion of Aurengzebe against his father, written by Mr. Bernier. After having murdered his three brothers and some of their children, to acquire the throne, Aurengzebe maintained himself in it near 50 years, with so strict an attention to the government of his empire, as entitles him to be ranked with the ablest princes, who have reigned in any age or country. He conquered more than half the provinces of the Peninsula of India in person, and his viceroys conquered or subjected almost all the rest, the sea coasts of Malabar excepted. The revenues of the empire amounted in his time to near thirty-eight millions of pounds sterling. He died in 1707.

BUT all the abilities of Aurengzebe did not give him the power of securing his crown to one of his sons in preference to the rest, and it appears by his will that he foresaw the contests which ensued amongst them after his death. His sons Azem Schah, and Mahomed Mauzm, fought at the head of armies not equalled since the time of Tamerlane.

lane. That of Mahomed Mauzm consisted of more than three hundred thousand fighting men, of which one hundred and fifty thousand were cavalry. Azem, who seems by his father's will to have been the favourite, was defeated and killed, and Mauzm was proclaimed emperor, under the title of BAHADR SCHAH, after which he attacked his brother Kaunbuksh, who was taken prisoner and died of his wounds. Bahadr Schah died after reigning about six years according to Mr. Frazer.

OF four sons which survived their father Bahadr Schah, three joined against the other, defeated and killed him, and then JEHANDER SCHAH separated from the other two, defeated and put them to death; after which he was proclaimed emperor; but as he was a very weak prince, and infatuated by his mistress Lal Koar, who had been a public singer; two brothers the principal men of his court dethroned him, and placed on the throne MAHOMED FURRUKSIR son to AZEM SCHAH, the prince who fell the first of the three brothers, by whose deaths Jehander Schah acquired the crown.

WE know not what term to give to the reign of Jehander Schah, the predecessor of Furruksir, as Mr. Frazer, who is now the guide to whom we are most indebted for the history of this dynasty seems to have made a mistake in the chronology of this period. Aurengzebe is said to have died in February 1707, and Mahomed Furruksir in February 1719, which dates give an interval of twelve years. At the same time Bahadr Schah the successor of Aurengzebe is said to have reigned about six years, Mahomed Furruksir the successor of Jehander Schah, to have reigned seven: so that we have in the reigns of these two princes, without the interposition of Jehander Schah, more than the term which elapsed between the deaths of Aurengzebe and Mahomed Furruksir, whose deaths are ascertained by dates. Mr. Frazer has not ascertained the term of Jehander Schah's reign; but if those of Bahadr Schah and Furruksir could be authentically reduced into the space to which they must be confined, it would be sufficient, according to the ideas of Mogul history, that Jehander Schah only

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once performed the ceremony of sitting in public on the throne of Delhi, to intitle him to be ranked in the list of the emperors of Indostan.

By that dependance to the great men of the kingdom to which their contests for the crown had reduced the descendants of Aurengzebe, the emperors elected, although reverenced as despotic by the multitude, ascended the throne in bonds, and were in reality nothing more than the slaves of their ministers.

Still the blood of Tamerlane continued to be held in too great veneration throughout the empire, to permit any others than his descendants to entertain hopes of ascending the throne with impunity. Those who stood nearest to the throne, in virtue of their offices and power, were therefore contented to rule the empire as they pleased, by shewing to the people a pompous sovereign, who in reality commanded nothing but the women of his seraglio.

Furruksir was the first of the Great Moguls, whose father had not been emperor, and we shall soon see more examples of this oblique succession. The same lords who had raised, deposed him as a measure necessary to their own security. Not content with confining him, they put out his eyes; but even this degree of imbecillity and wretchedness did not appease their fears or satisfy their resentments. They murdered him on the 16th of February 1719, aggravating the deed with every indignity and insult.

These deposers of Furruksir placed on the throne his cousin german Raffeih al Dirjat son of Raffeih al Shan, one of the brothers from whom the emperor Jehander Schah won the crown. Raffeih al Dirjat was taken out of the castle in which those of the royal family who are not murdered are suffered to live. This change of his fortunes was not more extraordinary than it was of short duration;

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tion; for the same disposers of the throne who had made him emperor, murdered him when he had scarcely reigned three months.

They then took Raffeih al Dowlet, brother of Raffeih al Dirjat, probably out of the same place of confinement, and placed him on the throne. The reign of this emperor was of shorter duration than that of his brother, for he died within a few days after his accession, and his death was not suspected to be the effect of poison.

Mahomed Schah was now proclaimed by the two brothers Abdallah Khan, and Hossan Ally Khan, whom we have seen powerful enough to make four and depose five emperors of Indostan. If there were no interreigns, four of these successions happened in the space of four months.

Mahomed Schah was son of Jehan Schah, one of the three brothers who perished in disputing the crown with their brother Jehander Schah. So that a son of each of these three unfortunate princes became emperor only to be as unfortunate as his father.

But the greatest humiliation, if not the most tragical exit, was reserved for Mahomed Schah. But the beginning of his reign was not without a stroke of vigour in the mode of eastern politics; for his courtiers, to please him, assassinated Hossan Ally Khan, one of the two brothers whose hands had been imbrued in so much of the blood of his family.

The other brother Abdullah Caun immediately appeared in arms, and opposed another emperor of his own nomination to Mahomed Schah. A battle ensued, in which Abdullah was taken prisoner. He died three months afterwards of his wounds; having, it is said, received the assurance of his pardon from Mahomed Schah; which, if true, is an example of clemency very rarely found in the politics of Asiatic monarchs.

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The removal of two such dangerous enemies to the throne, placed Mahomed Schah in possession of it with a security unknown to his predecessors, since the reign of Aurengzebe; but this security served only to render him unworthy of it. Indolent, sensual, and irresolute, he voluntarily gave to favourites as great a degree of power, as that which the ministers of the throne had lately possessed in defiance of the will of their sovereigns. The fatal moment approached, in which a foreigner was to determine whether he should exterminate the race of Tamerlane, and annex the richest empire of the universe to his own. Caundorah the vizir and favourite of Mahomed Schah quarrelled with Nizam al Muluck the viceroy of the southern provinces, who had under his jurisdiction very near a fourth part of the empire, and who without rebellion had rendered himself almost independant of the emperor. Bred under the eye of Aurengzebe, Nizam al Muluck censured openly and in the strongest terms, the lethargick and pusillanimous administration, as well as the profligate and dissolute manners of the court; hoping, no doubt, to impair the influence of his rival Caundorah. At last pretending that there could be no remedy to such desperate evils, but in a total revolution of the empire, he advised Thamas Kouli Khan, who had usurped the throne of Persia, to come and take possession of that of Indostan; and Thamas Kouli Khan followed his advice.

Mr. Frazer has left us an authentic account of this extraordinary revolution. An army famished by its own numbers, commanded by chiefs unanimous in nothing but their unwillingness to fight, and these by an emperor who could not command his fears, submitted to enemies whom they outnumbered five to one: but these enemies had been inured to conflicts under the most desperate soldier of the age, and were rendered invincible by the expectation of plundering the capital of the richest empire in the world. A skirmish decided the fate of this empire. Mahomed Schah laid his regalia at the feet of Thamas Kouli Khan, who took possession of Delhi, plundered it, and massacred a hundred thousand of its inhabitants.

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The conqueror reserving to himself all the countries lying to the westward of the river Indus and Attock, restored all the rest to Mahomed Schah, and reinstated him in the throne with formalities; after which he returned to Persia, carrying with him out of Indostan a treasure, which in effects, silver, gold and jewels, was valued at more than seventy millions of pounds sterling. He entered India from Kandahar in the beginning of the year 1738, and returned to Kandahar at the end of the year 1739. This dreadful incursion is reckoned to have cost Indostan, besides its treasures, the loss of two hundred thousand lives.

The cruelties exercised in India by Thamas Kouli Khan, were such, that a dervise had the courage to present a writing to him, conceived in these terms: "If thou art a god, act as a god; if thou "art a prophet, conduct us in the way of salvation; if thou art a "king, render the people happy, and do not destroy them." To which the barbarian replied, "I am no god, to act as a god; nor a "prophet, to shew the way of salvation; nor a king, to render the "people happy; but I am he whom God sends to the nations which "he has determined to visit with his wrath."

SECTION III.

THE northern nations of India, although idolaters, having scarce a religion, when compared to the multitude of superstitions and ceremonies which characterise the inhabitants of the southern countries, were easily induced to embrace Mahomedanism, and are at this day the Affghans or Pitans, who figure so much in all the late revolutions of Delhi. Excepting these, few of the other Indians have been converted.

The armies which made the first conquests for the heads of the respective dynasties, or for other incursors, left behind them numbers of Mahomedans, who, seduced by a finer climate and a richer country, forgot their own.

The Mahomedan princes of India naturally gave a preference to the service of men of their own religion, who, from whatever country they came, were of a more vigorous constitution than the stoutest of the subjected nation ; this preference has continually encouraged adventurers from Tartary, Persia, and Arabia, to seek their fortunes under a government, from which they were sure of receiving greater encouragement than they could expect at home.

From these origins, time has formed in India a mighty nation of near ten millions of Mahomedans, whom Europeans call Moors : to them, under the authority of the Great Mogul, the greatest part of Indostan is now subject : but, although the reigning nation, they are out-numbered by the Indians ten to one.

This inferiority of numbers, has obliged the Mahomedans to leave in all parts of Indostan, many Indian princes in possession of their respective sovereignties, which they are permitted to govern without molestation, on condition that they pay the stipulated tribute, and do not

infringe any other part of the treaties by which they or their ancestors have acknowledged the sovereignty of the Great Mogul. These Indian princes are called Rajahs, i. e. kings : more than one half of the empire is at this day subject to these Rajahs, of whom some are princes of very small territories, and others, such as Jasseing and Jessemseing mentioned by Mr. Bernier in the history of Aurengzebe, as also the kings of Mysore and Tanjore mentioned in the history of the present wars of Coromandel, possess dominions almost as large as the kings of Prussia or Portugal. Many of them pretend to great antiquity of family, and one, whom the emperor Acbar conquered, boasted his descent from Porus.

BESIDES the Indians who reside in the territories of the Rajahs, there are every where seen great numbers of them in those parts of the country which are immediately subject to the Great Mogul without the interposition of an Indian prince to govern them. They are the only cultivators of the land, and the only manufacturers of the immense quantities of linnen which are made in the empire ; insomuch that at a distance from the capital cities, the great trading towns, the encampments of armies, and the high roads, it is rare to see in the villages or fields a Mahomedan employed in any thing except levying contributions or acting in some other respect as an officer of the Great Mogul.

INTELLIGENT enquirers assert that there are no written laws amongst the Indians, but that a few maxims transmitted by tradition supply the place of such a code in the discussion of civil causes ; and that the ancient practice, corrected on particular occasions by the good sense of the judge, decides absolutely in criminal cases. In all cases derived from the relations of blood, the Indian is worthy to be trusted with the greatest confidence ; but in cases of property, in which this relation does not exist, as a cunning subtil people they are perpetually in disputes ; and for the want of a written code the justice or injustice of the decision depends on the integrity or venality of the judge. Hence the parties prefer to submit their cause to the decision of arbitrators chosen by themselves, rather than to that of the officers appointed by the government.

The Alcoran is to the Mahomedans at once the source of their religious institutions, of their civil law, and of the administration of justice in criminal cases. The two first of these heads have been as copiously commented as in any religion or government whatsoever.

The Mulla in Indostan superintends the practice and punishes the breach of religious duties, the Cadi holds courts in which are tried all disputes of property, and the Catwal is the judge and executor of justice in criminal cases.

An accurate description of the functions allotted to the Cadi and the Mulla, would require a volume, which we have not materials to furnish ; and if furnished, this volume would leave us but imperfectly informed of the general administration of justice in the cases supposed to fall under the jurisdiction of these officers ; since the sovereign or his delegate perpetually wrests all kinds of causes from the common forms of trial, and decides them himself without appeal. Some notion of the Catwal is given by Mr. Thevenot : the punishments inflicted by this tribunal, are different from those prescribed by the Alcoran ; from the precepts of which the Catwal likewise deviates in exercising the torture, and it contradicts them, in being always open to bribery.

We see in those parts of Indostan which are frequented by the European nations, the customs or laws which regard lands subject to contradictions, not easily reconcileable. The husbandman who possesses a few fields has the power of selling and bequeathing them, at the same time that the district in which these fields are included is annually let out by the government to a renter, who pays a certain sum of money to the lord of the country, and receives from the cultivator a certain part of his harvests. The renter sometimes quarrels with the husbandman, and displaces him from his possessions : clamours as against the highest degree of injustice ensue ; the prince interferes, and generally redresses the poor man, who has so much need of support in such a cause of misery ; and if he fails to give this proof of his inclination to justice, he is held in execration, and deemed capable of any iniquity.

In all the countries absolutely subjected, the Great Mogul stiles himself proprietor of all the lands, and gives portions of them at will as revenues for life to his feudatories ; but still these grants take not away from the cultivator the right of sale and bequest. The policy of all the Indian governments of Indostan, as well as that of the Great Mogul, seems to consist more in a perpetual attention to prevent any one family from obtaining great possessions, than in the intention of multiplying oppressions upon the body of the people ; for such a slavery would soon leave the monarch little grandeur to boast of, and few subjects to command. As all acquisitions of land are subject to the inspection of the government, the man who should attempt to make himself proprietor of a large estate in land, would be refused the certificates necessary to put him in possession, and would be marked as a victim necessary to be sacrificed to the policy of the state. From what we see in the histories of this and other eastern countries, the violences committed among the great, lead us to think that the man of more humble condition is subject to still greater violences ; when, on the contrary, this humility is the best of protections.

The Feudatory, by the acceptance of a certain title and the pension which accompanies it, acknowledges the Great Mogul his heir. No man, from the Vizir downwards, has any trust of importance reposed in him but on these terms, and on his decease the whole of his property that can be found is seized for the use of the emperor, who gives back to the family what portion he pleases. The estates of all who are not feudatories descend to the natural heirs.

These barriers raised against the aggrandizement of particular families became absolutely necessary in a state, necessitated to repose very great trusts in certain individuals.

The whole extent of Indostan is not divided into more than twenty-four provinces : each of these include several Indian principalities. A very large army ready to move at the first warning was found neces-

sary to coerce the Rajahs ; the same force divided under several distinct commanders would have been ineffectual. Hence it was necessary to give a large tract of country to the government of a single officer, or to relinquish the design of extending the dominion.

THIS officer, now well known in Europe by the title of Nabob, was made subject to the controul of others who resided in the province with him, and over whom he had no authority. The sovereign reserved to himself the power of life and death. Civil causes were reserved to the Cadi, and the revenues and expences of the province were subject to the examination of the Duan, who managed the customs and took possession for the emperor of the estates of the feudatories who died. The Great Mogul gave the government of the strongest holds in the province to governors who were in nothing subject to the Nabob. He was called to court, kept there, or translated into another government, whenever the ministry thought these changes necessary ; and there was a time when they were so frequent, that a new Nabob left Delhi riding contrary to the usual manner with his back turned to the head of his elephant, and gave for a reason, " That he was looking out for his successor."

THE divisions of the royal family gave the Nabobs of provinces distant from the capital, opportunities of acquiring a stability in their governments, and the court was now content to receive a stipulated sum, in lieu of the real revenues of the province, in which the Nabob became little less than absolute, and had nothing to fear but an army from Delhi, which was always coming, and never came. But even before they arrived at this state of independence, we find them exercising the cruel caprices of despotism on wretches too weak to raise their complaints to the throne. Mandleslow tells a story of a Nabob who cut off the heads of a set of dancing girls, that is, of a company of very handsome women, because they did not come to his palace on the first summons. In Tavernier we see a man, who murders his wife, four children, and thirteen slaves, and is left unpunished, because he is the person on whom the Nabob relied for the cure of a distemper.

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THE relations of all the travellers into Indostan abound with examples of the vices of these princes. It has been observed, that all the Mahomedans established in India acquire, in the third generation, the indolence and pusillanimity of the original inhabitants, and at the same time a cruelty of character to which the Indians are at present happily strangers. Hence we are almost induced to give assent to the opinion, that the prohibition of shedding blood of any kind, inculcated by the Indian religion, was a political institution, wisely calculated to change into gentler manners the sanguinary disposition, which is said to have characterised all the inhabitants of Indostan before the religion of Brama was introduced amongst them.

The END *of the* DISSERTATION.

TO THE READER.

SINCE the first edition of this book in 1764, Mr. ALEXANDER DOW has published a translation of *The History of the Mahomedan Conquerors in Indostan*, written originally in Persic by FERISHTA. This work of FERISHTA is an abridgement of other historians, and extends from the beginning of the reign of SEBEGTECHIN, the first of the Ghaznavide Monarchs who made conquests in Indostan, to the end of the reign of the Emperor ACBAR; that is, from the year 977 to 1605 of our Æra; and of the Mahomedan, from 365 to 1014.

FERISHTA gives the origin and regular succession of all the Kings of Ghazna and emperors of Delhi during this period, the progress of their conquests in Indostan, and the other principal events of their reigns; and thus supplies the voids and imperfections of the historical part of our *Dissertation on the Establishments made by Mahomedan Conquerors in Indostan.* We have, nevertheless, left our dissertation in its first state, that the attention of the Reader might be directed to the work of FERISHTA, which is the most curious and valuable piece of Oriental history, of which a translation has hitherto been given to Europe.

A

HISTORY

OF THE

MILITARY TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

BRITISH NATION

IN

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FROM THE YEAR MDCCXLV.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE English establishments in the kingdom of Indostan are divided into three governments, independant of each other. Bombay commands the factories on the western side of the peninsula, commonly called the Malabar coast; together with those in Persia: the establishments and possessions on the eastern or Coromandel coast are under the government of Madrass: and those in Bengal depend on Calcutta. From the year 1745 to the conclusion of the late peace, the English have been continually engaged in war, in one or other of these divisions: and the preservation of their commerce in the East-Indies

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absolutely depended on the conduct and success of the wars of Coromandel and Bengal. We have therefore thought that a general history of their military transactions in Indostan, during this period, would not be unacceptable to the public ; more especially as there is no part of the world in which the British arms have, of late years, acquired more honour.

BOOK I.

THE WAR OF COROMANDEL.

THE war declared between Great Britain and France in 1744, extended its operations to the settlements of the two nations in India : peace was no sooner restored to them by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, than they took up arms against one another, on the coast of Coromandel, as allies to two Moorish lords contending for the possession of the province of Carnatica. The competition between these lords had its rise in events, which happened several years before the English or French took part in it ; it therefore becomes necessary to describe those events ; and as the government, policy, and customs of the nations of Indostan differ greatly from those of Europe, we shall endeavour, in the course of our narrative, to give as much of their character and manners, as appears necessary for the intelligence of the facts which we relate.

Most of the countries which have been conquered by the Great Mogul in the peninsula of India, are comprized under one viceroyalty, called from its situation the Decan, or south. From the word Soubah, signifying a province, the viceroy of this vast territory, is called Soubahdar, and by Europeans improperly Soubah. Of the countries under his jurisdiction, some are entirely subjected to the throne of Delhi, and governed by Mahomedans, whom Europeans as improperly call Moors ; whilst others remain under the government of their original Indian princes or Rajahs, and are suffered to follow their ancient

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modes on condition of paying tribute to the Great Mogul. The Moorish governors depending on the Soubah, assume, when treating with their inferiors, the title of Nabob, which signifies Deputy: but this in the registers of the throne is synonimous to Soubahdar, and the greatest part of those who stile themselves Navabs, or Nabobs, are ranked at Delhi under the title of Phous-dar, which is much inferior to that which they assume, signifying no more than the commander of a body of forces. The Europeans established in the territories of these Pseudo-Nabobs (if we may be allowed the expression) following the example of the natives with whom they have most intercourse, have agreed in giving them the title they so much affect. In deference therefore to the custom which has prevailed, we shall leave them in possession of it, and in the course of our narration shall likewise distinguish the great viceroy by that of *Soubah*.

A NABOB ought to hold his commission from Delhi, and if at his death a successor has not been previously appointed by the Great Mogul, the Soubah has the right of naming a person to administer the Nabobship until the will of the Sovereign is known; but a Nabob thus appointed by a Soubah is not deemed authentically established until he is confirmed from Delhi. The Soubah receives from the several Nabobs the annual revenues of the crown, and remits them to the treasury of the Empire. The Nabobs are obliged to accompany him in all military expeditions within the extent of his viceroyalty, but not in any without that extent. These regulations were intended to place them in such a state of dependance on the Soubah as should render them subservient to the interests of the Empire, and at the same time leave them in a state of independance, which would render it difficult for the Soubah to make use of their assistance to brave the throne.

THE constitution of the Mogul Empire began to lose its vigour immediately after the death of Aurengzebe, the ablest monarch that ever reigned over Indostan; but since the dreadful incursion of the Persians under Thamas Kouli Khan, it has declined daily more and more: so that during the last fifty years, Soubahs have been seen to maintain themselves in their governments against the will of the throne, and have consequently appointed Nabobs under them with as little regard

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to its authority; Nabobs likewise have kept possession of their governments in opposition both to the Soubah and the throne; and what is more extraordinary in the offices of a despotic state, both Soubahs and Nabobs have named their successors, who have often succeeded with as little opposition as if they had been the heirs apparent of an hereditary dominion. What we have said of the government of the southern provinces, is equally applicable to all the other Soubaships of the empire.

The Carnatic is one of the most considerable Nabobships dependant on the Soubah of the Decan: from its capital it is likewise named the province of Arcot; but its present limits are greatly inferior to those which bounded the ancient Carnatic before it was conquered by the Great Mogul; for we do not find that the Nabobs of Arcot have ever extended their authority beyond the river Gondegama to the north, the great chain of mountains to the west, and the borders of the kingdoms of Tritchinopoly, Tanjore, and Mysore to the south. The sea bounds it to the east. It was not before the beginning of the present century that this country was entirely reduced by the Moors.

Sadatulla, a regular and acknowledged Nabob of the Carnatic, 1710
having no issue, adopted the two sons of his brother; appointing the elder, Doast-ally, to succeed in the Nabobship; and conferring on the younger, Boker-ally, the Government of Velore; he likewise directed that Gulam Hassein, the nephew of his favourite wife, should be Duan or prime minister to his successor. Having reigned from the year 1710 to 1732, he died much regretted by his subjects.

The dispositions he had made were fulfilled without opposition or 1732
difficulty; but Nizam-al-muluck, the Soubah of the southern provinces, beheld the accession of Doast-ally with aversion, since it took effect without that deference to his authority which he was determined to establish throughout all the governments under his jurisdiction. The jealousy of this powerful superior prevented Doast-ally from procuring a regular confirmation from Delhi: it is said that he only obtained some letters of approbation from the vizir, without the proper forms of an authentic commission.

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1732 DOAST-ALLY had two sons, of whom the eldest, Subder-ally, was arrived at man's estate when his father succeeded to the Nabobship; he had likewise several daughters, one of whom he had at that time given in marriage to his nephew Mortiz-ally, son of Boker-ally; and another to a more distant relation named Chunda-saheb. This lord gave his own daughter by a former wife in marriage to Gulam Hassein, and availing himself of the incapacity of his son-in-law, obtained the Nabob's permission to administer the office of Duan in his stead.

THE kingdoms of Tritchinopoly and Tanjore, although tributary to the Great Mogul, were each of them governed by its own prince or Rajah, and the care of levying the tributes of these countries was intrusted to the Nabobs of Arcot, who were sometimes obliged to send an army to facilitate the collection of them. The death of the
1736 king of Tritchinopoly in 1736, was followed by disputes between the queen and a prince of the royal blood, which produced a confusion in the government sufficient to give the Nabob of Arcot hopes of subjecting the kingdom to his authority. He therefore determined to send an army under the command of his son Subder-ally and the Duan Chunda-saheb to seize any opportunity which might offer of getting possession of the city of Tritchinopoly; but to prevent suspicions, the collection of the tribute was given out as the only intention of the expedition, and the army was ordered to move leisurely down to the sea-coast, before they proceeded to the south: accordingly they came to Madrass, where they remained some days, and then went to Pondicherry, where they staid a longer time; during which, Chunda-saheb laid the first foundation of his connexions with the French government in that city: from hence they marched to Tritchinopoly.

By intrigues, of which we have not the details, Chunda-saheb prevailed on the queen to admit him with a body of troops into the city, having first taken an oath on the Koran, that he would act in nothing to her detriment: the people of the country say that she fell in love with him; if so, she was ill requited, for he soon after seduced the garrison, seized the city, and confined her to a prison, where she died of grief. The submission of the rest of the kingdom soon followed that

of the capital ; after which, Subder-ally leaving Chunda-saheb to 1736
govern these new acquisitions, returned to his father at Arcot, who appointed Meer-assud, the preceptor of Subder-ally, to succeed Chunda-saheb in the office of Duan.

THE new Duan was well acquainted with the ambitious character of his predecessor, and represented to Subder-ally the consequences which were to be apprehended from a man of such dangerous views, placed in a government of such importance. Subder-ally saw his error when it was too late to redress it ; for when he represented to his father the necessity of recalling Chunda-saheb to Arcot, the Nabob, apprehensive of open ruptures in his family, and attached to his son-in-law from an opinion of his abilities, could not be induced to follow Meer-assud's advice.

CHUNDA-SAHEB hearing what had been attempted against him, took measures to secure himself: he put the city of Tritchinopoly in a good state of defence, and placed his two brothers in the strongest towns dependant on his sovereignty ; Buda-saheb in Madura, and Saduck-saheb in Dindigul : but notwithstanding these preparations, he determined not to throw off his allegiance to the Nabob, before he should be openly attacked.

IN the mean time Nizam-al-muluck's resentments against the family of Doast-ally increased with their acquisitions; for, notwithstanding the independancy affected by Chunda-saheb, he did not doubt that the force of Tritchinopoly would always be united with that of Arcot, whenever danger from foreign powers should threaten either of the two governments. But his attention was for some years taken up by affairs of much greater importance than the reducing of this family to his obedience. At one time, he was prepared to join the Great Mogul, whom he wished to see dethroned, against Thamas Kouli Khan, whom he had invited to invade the Empire : and after the Persian left Indostan, he was obliged to keep his arms turned towards Delhi, where he was equally dreaded and detested. Thus prevented from marching into the Carnatic, he at length determined to give the Morattoes permission to attack it. By this measure he satisfied, in part, the obligations he lay under to that na- 1739

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1739 tion, and at the same time employed a force, which, next to his own, was the most capable of conquering the dominions of Doast-ally.

THE country of the Morattoes lies between Bombay and Gol-Kondah : its limits are not known with any degree of certainty to Europeans, and we are equally ignorant of the origin and history of the people. It is now a century that they have made a figure as the most enterprising soldiers of Indostan, and as the only nation of Indians, which seems to make war and occupation by choice ; for the Rajpouts are soldiers by birth. Of late years they have often been at the gates of Delhi ; sometimes in arms against the throne : at others, in defence of it against the Affghans or Pitans. The strength of their armies consists in their numerous cavalry, which is more capable of resisting fatigue than any in India ; large bodies of them having been known to march fifty miles in a day. They avoid general engagements, and seem to have no other idea in making war, but that of doing as much mischief as possible to the enemy's country. This they effect by driving off the cattle, destroying the harvest, burning the villages, and by exercising such cruelties as makes the people of the open country take flight on the first rumours of their approach. The rapidity of their motions leaves the prince with whom they wage war little chance of striking a decisive blow against them, or even of attacking with effect any of their detachments. Hence the expence of maintaining an army in the field with very little probability of even fighting such an enemy, and the greater detriment arising from the devastations they commit, generally induce the governments they attack to purchase their retreat with money. Great parsimony in their expences, and continued collections of treasure by the means now described, have been the principal causes of raising them, in less than a century, from a people of inconsiderable note, to a nation which at present strikes terror into all the countries between Delhi and Cape Comorin. They often let out bodies of men, and sometimes whole armies ; but the hiring of them is a dangerous resource ; for the offer of better terms seldom fails to make them change sides ; and they seldom relinquish their practice of plundering even in the countries which they are hired to defend. But notwithstanding

their

their warlike character, they are in other respects, the most scrupulous observers of the religion of Brama; never eating of any thing that has life, nor even killing the insects which molest them: however, a buffalo sacrificed, with many strange ceremonies, atones for the blood of their own species which they shed in war. 1739

Before the Carnatic was conquered by the Great Mogul, the Morattoes were in possession of several fortresses and territories in the country: retreating from which before the arms of the Moors, they stipulated to receive annually a portion of the revenues, as a recompence for the possessions which they relinquished, and as a tribute for desisting from their usual predatory incursions into the province. The Nabobs of Arcot had for many years neglected to pay this tribute, and the Morattoes had refrained from their usual methods of obtaining reparation, from no other motive than their great fear of Nizam-al-muluck: but this restraint was now removed by the encouragement which they received from him to invade the Carnatic. At the same time the kings of Mysore and Tanjore, in resentment of the injuries they had suffered from Chunda-saheb in his government of Tritchinopoly, incited them, as brethren of the same religion, to attack the Carnatic, and to revenge the violations committed in their temples and holy places by that Mahomedan governor, and the Moors in his service.

In the month of May, 1740, an army of 10,000 Morattoes, under the command of Ragogee Bonsola, approached the province with their usual rapidity, and arrived at the mountains, which separate it from the western country, before Doast-ally was able to collect the whole of his forces to oppose them; for a large part of his army happened at that time to be employed to the southward, under the command of his son Subder-ally. The Nabob, however, marched from Arcot with what troops he was able to assemble, about 4,000 horse and 6,000 foot, and with these determined to defend the passes of Damal-cherri, through which the Morattoes intended to enter the province, until he could be succoured by his son's army, and the other troops of the province, which were advancing to his assistance: it is thought he would have succeeded in this in- 1740

1740 tention if he had not been betrayed by one of his officers, an Indian, who suffered the Morattoes to pass the station where he commanded. The next day, being the 20th of May, the whole army appeared in the Nabob's rear, which was not defended by intrenchments, and having every advantage, attacked his troops with great fury; who, encouraged by the example of their prince, defended themselves resolutely for several hours, until they saw him, together with his son Hassan-ally, fall dead from their elephants on the field of battle; the rout was then general; most of the principal officers of the army were slain, and Meer-assud, the Duan, was taken prisoner.

Subder-ally, with the troops under his command, was advanced as far as Arcot when he heard of his father's fate, upon which he immediately took refuge in Velore. Chunda-saheb likewise took the field with 5,000 horse and 10,000 foot, giving out that he intended to march to the Nabob's assistance; but by contrived delays he kept at a distance from the field of battle, and as soon as he heard of the Nabob's defeat, hastened back to Tritchinopoly.

The Morattoes, after their victory, sent detachments to plunder and levy contributions in every part of the province, but found that what they acquired by these means did not answer their expectations; for the wealthy inhabitants had removed all their valuable effects into the strong holds with which the province abounds. Thus disappointed, they readily listened to the proposals of their prisoner Meer-assud, who was empowered by Subder-ally from Velore to treat with them: it was agreed that they should be paid, at stated periods, 10,000,000 of rupees, equal to one year's revenue of the province, on condition that they quitted the Carnatic immediately; thus much was made public, but another article was kept secret. As soon as the treaty was ratified, Subder-ally assumed the title and authority of Nabob; but this power was now so much impaired, that Chunda-saheb thinking he had nothing to apprehend from it, came to Arcot to do homage to him: however, the splendor of his retinue, and the military force which accompanied him, made him appear rather the equal than the dependant of Subder-ally.

The

The fortifications of Pondicherry were at this time in such reputation, amongst a people who had never before seen any thing equal to them, that the late Nabob, as well as Subder-ally and Chunda-saheb, had sent their wives, children, and treasures, to remain there during the war. As soon as the Morattoes quitted the province, Subder-ally and Chunda-saheb, attended by a large retinue, went to Pondicherry, where they stayed several days. Subder-ally returning to Arcot, took with him his own and his father's family; but Chunda-saheb proceeding to Tritchinopoly, left the women of his family and one of his sons there. 1740

In the month of December the province was again struck with consternation by the return of the same army of Morattoes which had lately afflicted it with so many calamities. This second irruption was in consequence of the secret engagement which they had made with Subder-ally.

Besides the sum of money which he had agreed to pay them, they had farther insisted on receiving some territories in sovereignty, and in this demand Meer-assud found them so inflexible, that, considering the territories of Tritchinopoly served only to render the power of Chunda-saheb formidable to his master, he consented to yield those countries to the Morattoes, on condition that they should attack them at their own expence: this they agreed to do, and at the same time engaged to dispose of Chunda-saheb, if he fell into their hands, in such a manner as should be most conducive to the interests of the Nabob of Arcot.

Tritchinopoly was strongly fortified in the Indian manner of defence; and Chunda-saheb, on the first news of the approach of the Morattoes against Doast-ally, stored it with a great quantity of grain, which is considered as the best security of a fortified place amongst a people who are very little skilled in the use of cannon or other engines of battery. Meer-assud therefore foreseeing that he would be able to protract his defence as long as his provisions lasted, advised the Morattoes to quit the Carnatic, and to encamp at such a distance as might prevent any suspicion of their intentions to return. This artful conduct produced the effect intended by it; for Chunda-saheb imagining that the Morattoes were meditating expeditions into other

1740 provinces, sold his stores of grain; of which they no sooner received intelligence than they set out from their camp at Sevegunga, and by very expeditious marches appeared in sight of Tritchinopoly before he could remedy the distress to which he had so unwarily reduced it.

1741 They invested the city closely, and were attentive to prevent the introduction of any supplies or reinforcements; nevertheless the brothers of Chunda-saheb attempted to relieve it. Buda-saheb advanced from Madura with a large convoy of provisions, escorted by 3,000 horse and 7,000 foot: the Morattoes detached 20,000 men to intercept this reinforcement, which defended itself with bravery until Buda-saheb fell, when the death of the leader was followed by a general rout, as it always happens in the battles of Indostan: they cut off Buda-saheb's head, and sent it to Chunda-saheb as a confirmation of his brother's defeat. Another detachment attacked Saduck-saheb, approaching from Dindigul with 1,500 horse and 3,000 foot, who were likewise defeated after a sharp fight, which ended with the death of Saduck-saheb.

Chunda-saheb, notwithstanding these misfortunes, continued to defend the city with great resolution, and protracted the siege until the greatest part of his provisions was consumed, and a considerable number of his men, with some of his best officers, killed; the dread of famine had also caused many to desert: those remaining, worn out with fatigues, called upon him with one voice to surrender. He delivered up the city and himself on the 26th of March, 1741, after having sustained a siege of three months. The Morattoes placed him, with his son, and several principal officers, under the strictest confinement, intending to be well paid for the ransom of their persons. After some time spent in draining Tritchinopoly of all they could find valuable in it, they appointed Morari-row, one of their generals, viceroy of the kingdom, and leaving 14,000 of their best troops under his command, returned to their own country, where they confined their prisoners in a strong fort in the neighbourhood of Sattarah their metropolis.

The Morattoes, by the possession of Tritchinopoly, were now become of enemies, allies to Subder-ally; and the imprisonment of Chunda-saheb at such a distance from the Carnatic, removed the only

only leader deemed capable of exciting intestine commotions. But the resentment of Nizam-al-muluck still remained to be appeased, which could only be done by remitting to him those large arrears of revenues which the Nabob Doast-ally, availing himself of the convulsions of the empire, had withheld. Subder-ally therefore was convinced that a storm would break upon him from this quarter as soon as Nizam-al-muluck himself should have none to fear from Delhi: but as this time was not yet come, he determined not to exhaust his treasures from the apprehension of dangers, which, although probable, were still uncertain; he amused Nizam-al-muluck with humble excuses, founded on the poverty to which he pretended to be reduced by the incursion of the Morattoes, and even demeaned himself so far as to give out he intended to go to Arabia, and there spend the remainder of his days in acts of devotion at the tomb of his prophet. 1741

The poverty to which he pretended to be reduced was as little real as the spirit of devotion which he affected, for the greatest part of his father's treasures had been preserved under the care of his mother, when she took refuge in Pondicherry. However, the late calamities left such an impression of terror upon his mind, that he did not venture to keep his court in the open and defenceless city of Arcot, but 1742 took up his residence in Velore, which was well fortified, and its citadel built two hundred years ago by the Morattoes, the strongest in the Carnatic: with the same spirit of precaution he sent the women and children of his family, together with his treasures, to Madrass; giving this preference to the English nation by the advice of Meer-assud, who already suspected the connexions which subsisted between Chunda-saheb and Mr. Dupleix, the governor of Pondicherry. From Velore the Nabob made several visits to his family at Madrass, and these journies were reported to Nizam-al-muluck as proofs of his intention to proceed from thence by sea to Mecca.

The commanders of all the towns and forts in the Carnatic had been assessed in sums proportioned to their incomes, which were levied at stated periods, in order to discharge the ransom of the province due to the Morattoes. The government of Velore was the richest

1742 richest fief subject to the Nabobship of Arcot, and by the treasures which Mortiz-ally inherited from his father, as also by a very parsimonious management of the revenues of his government, he was become the richest man in the province. Having married the sister of Subder-ally, and being likewise nearly related to him by birth, he thought that these titles of kindred, joined to the reception which he gave to the Nabob and his court, would excuse him from the necessity of furnishing what remained due of his proportion of the general assessment; but the Nabob, who knew the Morattoes were not to be disappointed with impunity, and who was as unwilling as Mortiz-ally to disburse his private treasures until the last extremity, determined to oblige him to furnish his contingent with the same punctuality as the other governors of the province. Many of these were attentive to the conduct of the governor of Velore, and were ready to withhold their proportions of the assessment as soon as they should find a respectable leader to set the example, and to support them in the consequences of refusing to obey the Nabob's orders; they therefore confederated with Mortiz-ally, and represented to him that Nizam-al-muluck, the Soubah of the southern provinces, would behold with satisfaction even the most desperate measure which might be taken by the officers of the Carnatic, against a prince who paid so little deference to his authority.

Mortiz-ally, born cruel and treacherous, had no restraints in his composition to stop his hand from the perpetration of any crime by which his avarice, ambition, or revenge could be gratified: he was indeed by many suspected of being uncommonly deficient in personal courage, but this persuasion seems to have taken its rise from the suspicious habits of his domestic life; since he never moved, even in his own palace, without being surrounded by guards, nor ever ventured to taste any thing that was not brought to him in a vessel to which his wife had affixed her seal. The Nabob therefore held the pusillanimous character of his brother-in-law in the greatest contempt, and apprehended no danger from a man who lived in perpetual apprehensions of poison from his own family and domestics. Mortiz-ally still continued to evade the payment of his arrears of the assessment; and the Nabob,

Nabob, wearied by trifling excuses, one day in public imprudently threatened to dispossess him of his government, if he evaded any longer to comply with his orders. This outrage immediately flung him into the closest connection with the dissatisfied governors, who now flattered his ambition, by assuring him that they would acknowledge him Nabob of Arcot as soon as Subder-ally should be removed. 1742

The Nabob's army was encamped within the suburbs and under the walls of Velore : a body of guards and a numerous retinue constantly attended him within the fort, so that he seemed in no danger from open violence, or secret treachery. But nothing of the conspiracy transpired ; and he was unfortunately confirmed in his security by the extreme humility with which Mortiz-ally carried himself after the outrage he had received.

At the time of that festival to which the Mahomedans of Indostan have the greatest devotion, all the Nabob's servants asked permission to be absent for two or three days to celebrate it in their own families. Contrary to the usual custom of the courts of Indostan, the Nabob suffered all his retinue and guards, excepting four persons, to quit him ; and so little was he suspicious of the danger to which he exposed himself by this unguarded indulgence, that he even desired some of the officers and menial servants of Mortiz-ally might attend him during the absence of his own. Mortiz-ally determined not to lose this opportunity, which was such as might never offer again, to strike the blow he had meditated. On the 2d of October, the day after the Nabob's retinue had left him, the victuals prepared for his table were poisoned. The Nabob had scarcely finished his meal before he began to be greatly disordered, and although the strength of his constitution, with timely assistance, enabled him to throw off the mortal effects of the poison, yet it left him much enfeebled. Even this attack did not thoroughly awaken his suspicions, which those of Mortiz-ally's family, who waited on him, contributed to stifle, by representing his indisposition to be the access of a bilious disorder, very common in India. Mortiz-ally knew he had no time to lose, and proposed to some of his officers, in whom he had the most confidence, to go and put an end to the Nabob's life. It is said that all

refused

1742 refused to serve him in this cruel commission, excepting one, whose wife Subder-ally had formerly debauched : this man, a Pitan, having engaged some Abyssinian slaves, led them at midnight to the Nabob's apartment, where the few servants who attended the Nabob were asleep round his bed. They were immediately seized, and prevented from making resistance. The Nabob himself, instead of taking up his arms, attempted to make his escape through a window. The leader of the assassins seized him before he could pass through it, and upbraiding him with the injury of his adultery, and exulting in the revenge he was taking, killed him with several stabs of a poniard.

Meer-assud the Duan was in the fort, and the inviolable attachment which this minister was known to bear to his master, suggested to Mortiz-ally the intention of destroying so dangerous a witness of the murder which he had committed. The orders were given to put him to death, when some of Mortiz-ally's officers represented to him the necessity of preserving the life of a man, from whom alone he could obtain that knowledge of the affairs of the Carnatic, which would be necessary for his own conduct, as soon as he should be declared Nabob. These representations were dictated by reverence to the character of Meer-assud, whose virtues preserved him in this instant of imminent danger from the destruction to which he had been doomed.

The gates of the fort of Velore were strictly guarded during this night of terror, and those only who produced a particular permission were suffered to pass out the ensuing day. So that the news of Subder-ally Khan's death was carried the next morning to the army encamped near Velore, by emissaries employed by Mortiz-ally himself, who represented it as an accident in which their master had no part, and imputed it to the sudden resentment of some of the principal officers, of whom the Nabob had treated several with ignominious language, and had affronted one by a blow. But such was the general opinion of Mortiz-ally's character, that the soldiery immediately flew to their arms, and cried out in tumult, that their Nabob had been assassinated by the governor of Velore. The principal officers of the army were absent celebrating the

feast

feast; and the soldiery left to their own conduct, in the first impulse of detestation, threatened to storm the fort immediately, and to massacre all who were in it; but, on recollection of its strength, this resolution subsided, and they agreed to wait the return of their officers, before they should proceed to extremities. The emissaries of Mortiz-ally took advantage of this suspension of their rage, and called to their recollection the great arrears of pay, which were due to them from Subder-ally, who, although well able, had constantly evaded to satisfy their demands: whereas if the army, they said, would admit Mortiz-ally's pretensions to the Nabobship of Arcot, and declare in his favour, he would doubtless agree to pay all that was due to them. 1742

The armies of the Mahomedan princes of Indostan are composed of a number of distinct bodies of troops inlisted by different leaders; who, with their bands, enter into, and quit the service of different princes, according to the advantages which they expect to receive. Hence the degree of reliance which a prince can have on his army is proportioned to the treasures of which he is possessed, joined to his inclination to disburse them; and it is common in the wars of Indostan to see large bodies of troops going over to the enemy on the very field of battle. The army at Velore forgot its resentments against Mortiz-ally in proportion as the terms proposed by his emissaries appeared to be real. The officers, as they arrived in the camp, were immediately brought over to his interest by presents; accounts were adjusted, times of payment were stipulated, and all, officers as well as soldiers, agreed to acknowledge Mortiz-ally Nabob of the Carnatic, within two days after he had murdered Subder-ally.

Mortiz-ally now pitched his tents without the gates of Velore, and caused himself to be proclaimed Nabob. In November he made his entry with pomp into the city of Arcot, and was again proclaimed there.

As soon as the first agitations which this sudden and unexpected revolution had occasioned began to subside, several of the principal officers in the Carnatic communicated to one another their sentiments on his accession, and concurred in a detestation of it: These

 applied

1742 applied to Morari-row, the Morattoe governor of Tritchinopoly, who did not hesitate to declare openly against him. The English at Madrass were requested to protect the son and family of Subder-ally, together with their wealth, notwithstanding any menaces which they might receive from Mortiz-ally; who did not fail to demand this prey, and had the vexation to find it placed out of his reach. Several of the principal officers of the army, won by the friends of Subder-ally's family, engaged to effect a general revolt. On a sudden the army demanded immediate payment of the whole of their arrears, which at Velore they had agreed to receive at distant periods, and surrounding the palace in tumult, accompanied their demands with threats.

Mortiz-ally had not courage to stand this storm; but immediately determined to place himself out of the reach of danger. Women of rank in Indostan never appear in public; and travel in covered carriages, which are very rarely stopped or examined even in times of suspicion. He therefore disguised himself in a woman's dress, quitted Arcot in the night, in a covered Pallankin, accompanied by several female attendants, and in this equipage gained his fort of Velore without interruption.

As soon as his flight was discovered, the army proclaimed Seid Mahomed Khan, the son of Subder-ally, an infant who resided in Madrass with his mother. The government of the province was entrusted to a Duan chosen by the friends of the family, and the young Nabob and his mother were removed from Madrass to Vandiwash, the fort of Tuckia-saheb, who had married one of the sisters of Subder-ally.

1743 These revolutions in the Carnatic happened at a time when Nizam-al-muluck, having no longer any thing to apprehend from the politics of the court of Delhi, where he had obtained for his son Ghazi-o'din Khan the post of captain general of the Mogul's armies, was preparing to visit the Carnatic. He left Gol-Kondah in the beginning of the year 1743, and arrived at Arcot in the month of March following. His army is said to have consisted of 80,000 horse and 200,000 foot. Their numbers, and the reputation of their

leader,

leader, deterred all the princes of the countries through which they passed from making any resistance : and they entered the province of Arcot with as little opposition. When arrived at the city, Nizam-al-muluck was struck with amazement at the anarchy which prevailed in every part of the government. Every governor of a fort, and every commander of a district, had assumed the title of Nabob, and had given to the officers of his retinue the same names as distinguished the persons who held the most considerable employments in the court of the Soubah. One day, after having received the homage of several of these little lords, Nizam-al-muluck said, that he had that day seen no less than eighteen Nabobs in the Carnatic ; whereas he had always imagined that there was but one in all the southern provinces. He then turned to his guards, and ordered them to scourge the first person who, for the future, should in his presence assume the title of Nabob. 1743

The young son of Subder-ally, accompanied by several of his principal officers, paid his visit of homage to the Soubah, who refused him the permission of returning to Vandiwash, and ordered some of his own officers to take charge of his person, directing them to treat him with lenity and respect. He then appointed Coja Abdulla Khan, the general of his army, Nabob of Arcot, and of all its dependencies, and sent a summons to Morari-row the governor of Tritchinopoly, to surrender the city. Finding that the Morattoe persisted in refusing to obey his orders, he marched with his whole army, and sat down before it: presents and promises supplied the place of hostilities in reducing it. In the month of August Morari-row evacuated Tritchinopoly, and soon after quitted the Carnatic with all his Morattoes.

1744 Nizam-al-muluck having thus settled the affairs of the province without unsheathing the sword, returned to Gol-Kondah. Coja Abdullah continued to command the army until it arrived there ; leaving one of his dependants to administer the government of Arcot during his absence. It was not before the month of March in the next year that he prepared to return, and after having been distinguished with particular honours on the day that he took leave of the

 Soubah,

1744 Soubah, was the next morning found dead in his bed. His body bore marks of poison; but as the hand from which it came could never be discovered, it was imputed to the person who received the most advantage from it, by succeeding him in the government of the Carnatic. This was An'war-odean, who was immediately nominated to that employment, and arrived at Arcot in the month of April.

The introduction of this stranger into the Carnatic was the source of many of the events which it is the intention of this narrative to commemorate; and there are so many and such injurious misrepresentations of his origin, and of that part of his life which preceded his accession to the Nabobship, that it is necessary to invalidate them by an impartial description of his history.

Anawar, the father of An'war-odean, distinguished himself by his great erudition, and by the application of it to explanations of the original text of the Koran: he made the pilgrimage of Mecca, without which proof of piety it is difficult, among Mahomedans, to acquire the reputation of a truly devout man. At his return from this voyage he was appointed by Aurengzebe, to be one of those religious officers who are appointed to offer up daily prayers for the health and prosperity of the sovereign. In consequence of this appointment, he received a pension, and was ennobled by being ranked as a commander of 250 horse, with the right of taking the title of Khan, which signifies Lord, or rather Chieftain. This title would appear incompatible with the character of a religious man, if every title of nobility in Indostan did not consist in a military commission; by which it is supposed, although rarely insisted on, that the person who receives the commission shall maintain a certain number of horse for the Emperor's service. With these honours and advantages Anawar retired to Gopee-mahoo, and there finished his days.

His son An'war-odean went to court with recommendations from his father, which procured him a title of the same rank as had been given to his father: he was afterwards raised to the command of 500 horse, and was appointed governor of the district of Coora-Geha-

nabad

nabad. Ill success, or perhaps ill conduct, preventing him from being able to pay the usual revenues of his government to the throne, he quitted it privately and went to Amedabad. Here Gazi-o'din Khan, the Soubah of the southern provinces, gave him a post of considerable trust and profit in the city of Surat, whilst his friends at Delhi took care to prevent further enquiries concerning him, by reporting him dead. After the death of Gazi-o'din Khan, father of Nizam-al-muluck, An'war-odean went to pay his court to Nizam-al-muluck, who had succeeded to the Soubahship of the southern provinces, and was by him appointed Nabob of the Yalore and Rajamundrum countries, which he governed from the year 1725 to 1741. When Nizam-al-muluck was preparing to visit the Carnatic, An'war-odean attended his court, and was left by him in one of the principal stations in the city and territory of Gol-Kondah; and a very few days after the death of Coja Abdulla, Nizam-al-muluck appointed him to administer the government of the Carnatic, in which choice he seems to have been influenced by his opinion of the necessity of placing a province, in which he suspected commotions, under the direction of a brave and experienced soldier; such was An'war-odean. 1744

There is no country in which the titles of descent are less instrumental to the fortunes of men than they are in Indostan; none but those of the royal blood are considered as hereditary nobility; to all others, the exclusion is so absolute, that a new act from the sovereign is necessary to ennoble even the son of the Grand Vizir of the empire. The field of fortune is open to every man who has courage enough to make use of his sword, or to whom nature has given superior talents of mind. Hence it happens, that half the grandees of Indostan have arrived to the highest employments in the empire from conditions not less humble than that of An'war-odean Khan; against whose accession to the Nabobship of the Carnatic, the people had taken an aversion, from causes independent of his personal character.

During the 30 years which preceded the visitation of Nizam-al-muluck, the Carnatic had been governed by the same family, in a

succession

1744 succession of three Nabobs, who, availing themselves of the general confusion of the empire, had acquired a greater stability in their office than is the usual lot of governors in Indostan. The Nabobs of this family, considering the sovereignty as a kind of inheritance, had not conducted themselves in their administration with that spirit of ravage, which is the usual consequence of uncertain and transitory possession. The revenues of the Carnatic depend upon the harvests of grain, and these on the quantities of water, which are reserved to supply the defect of rain during the dry season of the year: for this purpose vast reservoirs have been formed, of which not only the construction, but even the repairs in cases of inundation require an expence much beyond the faculties of the farmer or renter of the land. If therefore the avarice of the prince with-holds his hand from the preservation of these sources of fertility, and at the same time dictates to him an inflexible resolution of receiving his usual incomes; the farmer oppressed, oppresses the labourer, and the misery of the people becomes complete, by the vexations of collectors exercised in times of scarcity, of which the cruel parsimony of the prince has been the principal cause.

It is not therefore to be wondered at that the province which had felt the good effects of a mild and generous administration, from the reigns of the family of Sadatulla Khan, should behold with regret the introduction of any stranger whomsoever to govern the Carnatic. The young son of Subder-ally was the only person whom the province wished to see their ruler.

In deference to this affection, and from the danger of shocking it at once too violently, Nizam-al-muluck gave out that he intended to confer the Nabobship of Arcot on this youth, as soon as he should arrive at the age of manhood. At the same time he gave An'war-odean Khan all the powers necessary for governing the Carnatic during this interval, and committed the young prince to his care, with the authority of a guardian. From the palpable impropriety of reposing so delicate a trust in the very person to whom the greatest advantages would accrue from an unfaithful discharge of it, Nizam-al-muluck may be suspected of having dissembled throughout this

transaction. The general joy with which the youth was received, on his arrival in the province, eclipsed all the homage that was paid to the sovereign power of his guardian; and it is supposed that the provisional Nabob did not behold without jealousy these demonstrations of the public attachment to the son of Subder-ally. 1744

An'war-odean however did not discover any symptoms of discontent in his treatment of the young prince: on the contrary, he maintained him in a splendor adequate to his birth, and assigned the palace in the fort of Arcot for his residence. Here the young Seid Mahomed passed some time without any other inquietude, than that which he received from the importunities of a band of Pitan soldiers, who had been in the service of his father, and who pretended that a long arrear of pay was due to them.

The Pitans, whose country is in the most northern part of the Empire, are the bravest of the Mahomedan soldiery levied in Indostan. From a consciousness of this superiority, together with a reliance on the national connection which exists amongst them howsoever dispersed into the services of different princes, they have acquired an insolence and audacity of manners, which distinguishes them, as much as the hardness of their physiognomy, from every other race of men in the Empire: they treat even the lords they serve with very little of that respect which characterises all the other dependents of a sovereign in Indostan. From the known ferocity of their temper, it is thought dangerous to inflict punishment on them, even when they deserve it; as a strong spirit of revenge has familiarised them with assassination, which they seldom fail to employ whenever the smallness of their numbers disables them from taking vengeance by more open attacks. The Pitans, who had served Subder-ally Khan, continued to present themselves every day before his son, demanding their arrears with clamour and insolence.

In the month of June a wedding of one of the relations of Subder-ally was celebrated in the fort of Arcot. The young prince, as being the head of the family, was invited to preside at the ceremony. The customary invitations were likewise given to all the other relations,

1744 tions, many of whom were lords of governments in the Carnatic; among these was Mortiz-ally. The young Seid Mahomed was taught to conceal the emotions he naturally felt at seeing the murderer of his father named in the list of his friends as a guest invited with his approbation. Such are the manners of a court in Indostan. It was thought that Mortiz-ally would not venture his person out of the forts of Velore, during the first days of a new administration; but, in contradiction to this notion, he came to Arcot, and presented himself before the young prince, as one of the guests at the wedding; and was treated with distinction and respect by the regent Nabob An'war-odean Khan, who was likewise invited to the wedding.

On the day appointed for the solemnization of the marriage, twelve Pitans, with the captain of the band, presented themselves before the young prince, and demanded their arrears with a more determined spirit of insolence than they had hitherto shewn in any of their former applications. It is reckoned the highest indignity that can be offered to a soldier, to order him to retire by an expression of contempt; and if any violence is employed to remove him, he generally resents it in the instant with blood-shed. These considerations were not sufficient to restrain the zeal of Seid Mahomed's attendants from resenting the insult which was offered to their prince; and finding that expostulations did not prevail, they seized on the Pitans, and turned them out of the palace by force. The Pitans suffered themselves to be removed with much less resistance than it was expected they would have made against a treatment so repugnant to the ideas which these haughty soldiers entertain of their own importance. The same day they advanced again into the presence of Seid Mahomed, and apologized for their disrespectful behaviour: their submissions suppressed all suspicions of their conduct during the remaining part of the day.

In the evening Seid Mahomed, with Mortiz-ally and most of the other guests, were assembled, and as soon as the young prince was informed that An'war-odean was approaching, he arose from his seat, and passed into the vestibule of the hall, intending to pay his guardian the compliment of receiving him at the bottom of the steps, which

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led into the palace. He was attended by all the other guests, and many of his own officers and guards. The thirteen Pitans, who had made their submission in the morning, appeared the foremost of the spectators in the court below, and distinguished themselves by the affectation of great reverence in their manner of saluting Seid Mahomed Khan, as soon as he appeared in the vestibule. After these compliments, their captain, with the appearance of a man sensible that he had offended his lord, and intended to submit himself at his feet, ascended the steps, and was permitted to approach within the reach of his person ; when the assassin drew a dagger, and at the first blow stabbed him to the heart. 1744

A thousand swords and poignards were drawn in an instant : the murderer was cut to pieces on the very spot ; and ten of his accomplices suffered the same fate from the fury of the multitude below. During this scene of bloodshed, An'war-odean Khan arrived, and endeavoured to calm the general trepidation, by giving such orders as were necessary for the discovery of the conspirators ; for the multitude had already persuaded themselves that the Pitans had been employed by some superior power.

All who beheld the young prince deprived of life by this assassination, were instantly struck with the remembrance of the murder of his father committed in Velore ; murmurs from many had already declared the suspicions that were entertained of Mortiz-ally, when it was reported, that, during the general confusion, he had gained the gates of the fort, where a large body of cavalry and other troops, which composed his retinue, were waiting for him ; and that, surrounded by these guards, he was already on his way to Velore. The precipitation of this flight, which appeared as much the consequence of previous dispositions as the effect of sudden fear, left no doubt that he was the author of the assassination. Nothing was now heard but curses and imprecations on his head, for the murder of the innocent and much-loved Seid Mahomed Khan, and for the murder of the father of this unfortunate prince. The people saw themselves obliged to confine their indignation to these expressions of it ; for the strength of Mortiz-ally's escort required a larger body of cavalry

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1744 to be sent in pursuit of it, than could be assembled within the time necessary to overtake him, Velore being no more than twelve miles distant from Arcot.

The multitude now received orders from An'war-odean to retire to their homes; and, as men struck with dismay at a common calamity, assembled in secret companies, to communicate their thoughts on the murder of which they had been spectators.

An'war-odean, either actuated by the same spirit of indignation as the people, or affecting the appearance of it, not only removed the Pitans in his service from their employments, but also gave orders that all of that nation should immediately quit the city; and, as a stronger proof of his resentment, caused their houses to be razed to the ground, a mark of infamy rarely practised, excepting the persons, whom it is intended to stigmatize, have deserved capital punishment. But these expressions of indignation did not exempt him from imputations. Many persons of rank and power in the province asserted that they had discovered secrets, which convinced them that the assassination was the result of a confederacy between him and Mortiz-ally.

They said, that the respect and attachment which were shewn by all ranks of people to Seid Mahomed, joined to the great influence which his relations bore in the Carnatic, by possessing the best forts and governments in the province, had filled the mind of An'war-odean Khan with apprehensions of conspiracies and revolts which might at one time or other remove him, in order to place Seid Mahomed in the sovereignty: that, actuated by these suspicions, he regarded the destruction of Seid Mahomed as necessary to his own security, and was only with-held from executing it by the dread of Nizam-al-muluck's resentment; which suggested to him the scheme of practising on Mortiz-ally, by such insinuations and offers, as might induce him to undertake the destruction of Seid Mahomed; but in such a manner, that, if a discovery should be made, the murder might be imputed to Mortiz-ally alone; who being persuaded of the probability of a revolution in favour of Seid Mahomed, and dreading the revenge of this prince for the murder of his father, hired the

assassins.

assassins, having previously assured himself of protection from An'war-odean Khan, and even of rewards by an encrease of the Domain of Velore. 1744

The secrets of the princes of Indostan are very difficult to be discovered. In affairs of consequence nothing, except in the most equivocal terms, is ever given by them in writing; and whenever the matter is of great importance or iniquity, it is trusted to a messenger, a man of low rank and great cunning, who bears a letter of recommendation, testifying that he is to be trusted in all he says. So indefinite a commission reserves to the lord who gives it, the resource of disavowing the transaction of his agent; and this he never fails to do, whenever the iniquity is discovered. Hence the public in Indostan, deprived of authentic evidence, are left to judge of the actions of their rulers either from probable conjectures, or from the general idea of their characters. The constitution and defects of the government have rendered poisons and assassinations, in the practice of the great, the common method of removing those who stand in opposition to the ambition of others; insomuch that a history of one century in Indostan, would furnish more examples of this nature than can be found in the history of one half of the kingdoms of Europe since the time of Charlemagne. From the frequency of these enormous practices, even the deaths which happen in the common course of nature, are imputed to those who receive immediate advantage from them. Such were the principles on which the people of the Carnatic judged and condemned An'war-odean Khan for the murder of Seid Mahomed; although no positive proofs were brought of his having been accessory to it. The most probable argument against him was founded on the early appearance of Mortiz-ally at Arcot in the days of a new administration. This was thought incompatible with the wariness of his character, without supposing a connection which assured him of protection from An'war-odean.

An'war-odean strongly denied all connections with Mortiz-ally, and challenged any proof to be brought that either he himself, or any of his dependents, had ever had any correspondence with the Pitans

1744 who committed the murder ; which he attributed solely to Mortiz-ally, alledging as a proof, that the Pitans had often been at Velore, and were known to have received many marks of favour from him. On the other hand Mortiz-ally retorted the accusation, but brought no testimonies to support his assertion : It was supposed that the only proofs which he could have brought against An'war-odean, would at the same time have condemned himself.

Although An'war-odean was not able to exculpate himself in the opinion of his subjects, he found means to convince his superior, Nizam-al-muluck, that he was entirely innocent of the blood of Seid Mahomed. Nizam-al-muluck, who never did any thing by halves, thought it necessary to give him support, in proportion as he became odious to the Carnatic, and sent him a full and regular commission for the Nabobship of Arcot soon after the death of Seid Mahomed. The province, irritated by their aversion to a lord, whose sovereignty destroyed their hopes of being ruled by one of the family they so much loved, complained loudly of the avarice and parsimony of his government, and contrasted it, much to his disadvantage, with that of their former Nabobs.

War was now declared between Great Britain and France, in consequence of which a squadron of English men of war appeared in the Indian seas. It consisted of two 60 gun ships, one of 50, and a frigate of 20 guns : these ships did not come immediately to the English settlements in Indostan, but passing beyond them, cruised in two divisions in the straits of Sunda and Malacca. They took in these stations three French ships returning from China to Europe, and one returning from Manilha to Pondicherry ; the cargoes of which produced 180,000*l.* sterling. They also took a French ship at Atchin, which was converted into an English man of war of 40 guns, and called the Medway's Prize. After rendezvousing at Batavia, the squadron united appeared on the coast of Coromandel in the month of July
1745 1745, at which time the garrison of Pondicherry consisted of no more than 436 Europeans, its fortifications were not completed, and no French squadron had hitherto appeared in India.

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The appearance of the English squadron, and the report of the reinforcements which they expected from England, alarmed Mr. Dupleix for the safety of Pondicherry. He prevailed on the Nabob An'war-odean to insist with the government of Madrass, that the English ships of war should not commit any hostilities by land against the French possessions in the territories of Arcot; but the Nabob at the same time assured the English, that he would oblige the French to observe the same law of neutrality, if their force should hereafter become superior to that of the English. The government of Madrass remonstrated, that they were always ready to obey his commands as far as their power extended; but that Mr. Barnet, the commander of the English squadron, was the immediate officer of the King of Great Britain, by whose orders and commission he acted, independent of the East India company's agents at Madrass. The Nabob replied, that all officers of the English nation who came to the coast of Coromandel were equally obliged to respect his government in the Carnatic; and that if Mr. Barnet, with his squadron, should venture to act contrary to the orders he had now given, the town of Madrass should atone for their disobedience. 1745

These threats made so much impression upon the government of Madrass, that they requested and prevailed on Commodore Barnet to confine his operations to the sea. He therefore sent one of the 50 gun ships to cruise in the road of Balasore, at the entrance of the river Ganges, where she took two or three French ships returning from different parts of India to the French settlements in Bengal. The rest of the squadron left the coast of Coromandel to avoid the approaching stormy season, and went to Mergui, a port situated on the coast which lies opposite to that of Coromandel in the Gulph of Bengal.

In the beginning of the year 1746 the squadron returned to the coast of Coromandel, and were reinforced by two 50 gun ships, and a frigate of 20 guns, from England: but at this time the 60 gun ship, in which Mr. Barnet hoisted his flag, was found unfit for action, and, together with the 20 gun ship which came first into India, was sent back to England. 1746

There

1746 There was now certain intelligence that a French squadron was preparing to come on the coast of Coromandel, when that of the English was deprived of one of its principal advantages, by losing Commodore Barnet, who died at Fort St. David's in April. His death, happening at a time when the English affairs in India were threatened with danger, was generally regretted as a public loss, and indeed he was a man of great abilities in sea affairs.

Early in the morning of the 25th of June, the English squadron cruising to the southward of Fort St. David, near Negapatnam, descried that of the French arriving on the coast of Coromandel. It consisted of nine ships, which were commanded by Mr. De la Bourdonnais, who had equipped them at the isle of Mauritius, and afterwards, when scattered by a hurricane, had resisted them in the island of Madagascar, overcoming the greatest difficulties with such indefatigable perseverance and activity, as intitles him to a reputation equal to that of the ablest marine officer his country has produced. Of these ships one mounted 26 guns, two 28, one 30, three 34, one 36, and that on board of which Mr. De la Bourdonnais hoisted his flag mounted 70 guns, of which 60 were 18 pounders. There were but 14 other guns of this size in the whole squadron, the rest being 12 and 8 pounders. All but the 70 gun ship were bored to mount more guns than the number with which Mr. De la Bourdonnais had been able to equip them ; and five of them for 50 guns. On board of the ships were 3,300 men, of which 700 were either Caffres or Lascars : 3 or 400 of the whole number were rendered unfit for service by sickness.

The English squadron consisted of one 60 gun ship, three of 50, one of 40, and one frigate of 20 guns, which was too small to be brought into the action. The number of men did not amount to one half of that in the French squadron : but the English had greatly the advantage in the weight of their cannon, by which the fortune of engagements at sea is at present generally decided ; and they likewise sailed better than the French, and were worked with much greater skill.

Mr. De la Bourdonnais, knowing the advantages and disadvantages of his force, had determined to decide the impending engagement by

boarding

boarding the English ships, if it were possible to bring his own into the situations necessary to accomplish this design. Mr. Peyton, who commanded the English squadron, perceiving this intention, determined to engage with his squadron nearer to the wind than that of the enemy, since in this situation their efforts to board would be easily avoided; and a great part of the day was employed in preserving this advantage. It was not until 4 in the afternoon that the fight began: it was maintained at such a distance that the fire of the small arms from the French ships, notwithstanding the great numbers and expertness of their musketeers, did very little execution; but, on the other hand, the cannon of the English, from the same cause, did much less than might have been expected from them in a closer engagement. The fight finished with the entrance of the night; about 35 men were killed in the English squadron, and the greatest part of these on board the Medway's Prize. We are not exactly informed of the loss sustained by the French; but it was believed that the killed and wounded together did not amount to less than 300. One of their ships, which mounted 30 guns, was in less than half an hour dismasted, and so much shattered, that immediately after the action, Mr. De la Bourdonnais ordered her to proceed to Bengal to be refitted in the Ganges. 1746

The next morning Mr. Peyton called a council of war, when, on a review of the condition of the squadron, it was not thought prudent, especially as the 60 gun ship was extremely leaky, to venture a second engagement, before the damages it had sustained were repaired. In consequence of this resolution, the ships made sail for the harbour of Trincanomalee in the island of Ceylon, and in the evening lost sight of the French squadron, which had lain to the whole day, as if challenging the English, who were to windward, to bear down and renew the fight. This appearance of resolution in Mr. De la Bourdonnais was no more than a feint, practised to deter the English from doing what he most dreaded; for most of his ships had expended the greatest part of their ammunition, and several of them had not victuals on board for twenty-four hours.

In the night of the ensuing day the French squadron, now consisting of eight ships, arrived in the road of Pondicherry: where Mr. Du-

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1746 pleix commanded, for the French East India company, all the establishments of his nation in India, the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon excepted. These were under the government of Mr. De la Bourdonnais, to whom all the operations of the squadron were intrusted, independent of the controul of Mr. Dupleix.

The reputation and riches which it was probable Mr. De la Bourdonnais would gain in the command of his armament, created jealousy in the mind of Mr. Dupleix. Dissensions arose between the two commanders: but the zeal of Mr. De la Bourdonnais did not suffer the interests of his nation to be sacrificed to them. Judging that the force which he commanded could not be employed by land with any probability of success, until the English squadron should be either ruined or forced to quit the coast of Coromandel; he determined to go in quest of them as soon as his own ships were refitted and provided with 30 or 40 pieces more of heavy cannon than they mounted on leaving the island of Mauritius.

On the 24th of July the French squadron sailed from Pondicherry, working to the southward against the southern monsoon, and on the 6th of August discovered the English, which had been refitted at Trincanomalee. The English perceiving the addition of cannon with which the enemy had been supplied at Pondicherry, avoided an engagement. The two squadrons were three days in sight of each other, after which, according to Mr. De la Bourdonnais's account, the English ships, availing themselves of the advantage of sailing better than the French, disappeared.

Mr. De la Bourdonnais returned with his ships to Pondicherry, imagining that the English squadron would remain on the coast of Coromandel, at least with the hope of deterring him from attempting any operations against the English settlements. But encouraged by their shyness at the last meeting, he now determined to lay siege to Madrass.

The English, informed of the preparations which were making at Pondicherry to attack them, called on the Nabob to fulfil his promise of restraining the French from committing hostilities against them by land. But they omitted to employ the most certain

means

means of obtaining his protection, by neglecting to accompany their application for his assistance with a present of money. This ill-judged parsimony left the Nabob so lukewarm in their interests, that although he did not give Mr. Dupleix a positive permission, he refrained from making any preparations, or even from using menaces to prevent the French from attacking Madrass. 1746

This settlement had been about 100 years the principal establishment of the English nation on the coast of Coromandel. It was in a territory granted by the Great Mogul to the East India company, which extended about five miles along the sea shore, and about one mile in land. The town consisted of three divisions ; that to the south extended about 400 yards in length from north to south, and about 100 yards in breadth : none but the English, or other Europeans under their protection, resided in this division, which contained about 50 good houses, an English and a Roman Catholic Church, together with the residence of the factory, and other buildings belonging to the company : it was surrounded with a slender wall, defended with four bastions and as many batteries, but these were very slight and defective in their construction, nor had they any outworks to defend them : this quarter has long been known in Europe by the name of Fort St. George, and was in India called for distinction the White Town. On the north of this, and contiguous, was another division, much larger and worse fortified, in which were many very good habitations belonging to the Armenian and to the richest of the Indian merchants, who resided in the company's territory : this quarter was called the Black Town. Beyond this division, and to the north of it, was a suburb, where the Indian natives of all ranks had their habitations promiscuously. Besides these three divisions, which composed the town of Madrass, there were two large and populous villages about a mile to the southward of it, within the company's territory, and these were likewise inhabited by Indian natives.

The trade from England to the coast of Coromandel, together with that which is carried on by merchants of various nations from one part of India to another, had raised Madrass to a degree of opulence and reputation, which rendered it inferior to none of the Eu-

1746 ropean establishments in India, excepting Goa and Batavia. There were 250,000 inhabitants in the company's territory, of which the greatest part were natives of India of various casts and religions: amongst these were three or four thousand of those Indian christians who call themselves Portuguese, and pretend to be descended from that nation. The English in the colony did not exceed the number of 300 men: and 200 of these were the soldiers of the garrison; but none of them excepting two or three of their officers, had ever seen any other service than that of the parade: the rest of the English inhabitants, solely employed in the occupations of commerce, were still more unfit for military services. At the same time the defence of the place depended on this small number of English subjects; for it was known that the rest of the inhabitants, regarding themselves as neutrals, would take flight on the first approach of danger.

On the 18th of August the French squadron appeared and cannonaded the town, but without doing any damage. They attempted to take a ship belonging to the English company out of the road; but she moved into shoal-water, so near the batteries of the fort, that the French did not venture to attack her with armed boats; and it was evident, from the unskilfulness of their operations during this cruise, that Mr. De la Bourdonnais did not command them in person: he was at this time in Pondicherry, confined to his bed by sickness.

The protection of the English settlements on the coast of Coromandel was the principal object for which the squadron had been sent into India; and their appearance before Madrass was at this time thought so necessary to its defence, that the inhabitants were in hourly expectation of seeing them, although they had received no intelligence of them since they were last seen, six weeks before, by Mr. De la Bourdonnais. The consternation of the town was therefore little less than despair, when it was reported that they had appeared on the 23d of August 30 miles to the northward of Madrass, in sight of the Dutch settlement of Palliacatte, from whence they had again put out to sea, and disappeared. They proceeded to Bengal; for the 60 gun ship was so leaky, that it was feared the shock of firing her

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own cannon would sink her, if she should be brought into an engagement. 1746

On the 3d of September the French squadron anchored four leagues to the south of Madrass, having on board the troops, artillery and stores intended for the siege. Here a part of the troops was landed, and marching along the coast advanced the next day within cannon shot of the town, where the rest of the soldiers were landed. The whole consisted of 1,100 Europeans, 400 Caffres, and 400 Indian natives disciplined in the European manner. There remained on board of the squadron 1,800 European mariners.

Mr. De la Bourdonnais directed his attack against the White Town, in which the English resided : the northern side of this division could not be attacked by cannon, as the houses of the next division almost touched the wall, which separated them from each other : the eastern side could only be battered from the sea ; but the south and west lay open to the plain. On the 7th of September the French began to bombard the town, from a battery of nine mortars, which they erected to the westward, under the shelter of a large house, within 500 yards of the walls. In the evening three of their largest ships drew as near as the depth of water would permit, and cannonaded the town. In the night Mr. De la Bourdonnais was flung into great perplexity, by intelligence that some large ships were seen to the southward of Pondicherry ; which indeed was contradicted in the morning : but the first report caused so much alarm in the French camp, that they were preparing to reship their heavy cannon.

On the 8th of September the French had finished a battery of five mortars to the south, and bombarded the town without intermission until the next morning, when two English deputies went to their camp, to treat with Mr. De la Bourdonnais, who insisted that the town should be delivered up to him on his own terms : and threatened, in case of refusal, to make a general assault. This resolution arose from his apprehension of the return of the English squadron. As soon as the deputies returned, the bombardment recommenced, and continued until the evening, when it was sus-

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1746 pended for two hours, during the conference of another deputy sent from the town; after which it continued during the rest of the night.

The next morning, the 10th of September, the deputies returned to the French camp, and, after some altercations, consented to the articles of capitulation, which had been dictated to them in the first conference. It was agreed that the English should surrender themselves prisoners of war: that the town should be immediately delivered up; but that it should be afterwards ransomed. Mr. De la Bourdonnais gave his promise that he would settle the ransom on easy and moderate terms.

The capitulation was signed in the afternoon, when Mr. de la Bourdonnais, at the head of a large body of troops, marched to the gates, where he received the keys from the governor. The French colours were immediately displayed; and, at the same time, the English ship belonging to the East India company, which lay in the road, was taken possession of without resistance by the boats of the French squadron. There was not a man killed in the French camp during the siege; four or five Englishmen were killed in the town by the explosion of the bombs, which likewise destroyed two or three houses. From this period it is useful to contemplate the progress made by the English in Indostan, both in the science and spirit of war.

The English inhabitants were permitted to reside without molestation in their houses; but the magazines and ware-houses belonging to the East India company were taken possession of by the French commissaries.

On the day in which Madrass was surrendered, a messenger from the Nabob An'war-odean Khan, dispatched for more expedition on a camel, arrived at Pondicherry, and delivered to Mr. Dupleix a letter, in which the Nabob expressed great surprize at the presumption of the French in attacking Madrass without his permission, and threatened to send his army there, if the siege was not immediately raised. Mr. Dupleix sent directions to his agent at Arcot to pacify the Nabob, by promising that the town, if taken, should be given up to him; and

and by representing, that the English would certainly be willing to pay him a large sum of money for the restitution of so valuable a possession. By this transaction, Mr. Dupleix first discovered that he thought the right of disposing of Madrass, was invested in himself as governor general of the French establishments in India. 1746

But Mr. De la Bourdonnais, relying on his own commission, did not admit of this authority in the governor of Pondicherry, and, conformable to his promise, proceeded to treat with the English for the ransom of the town. Mr. Dupleix and the council of Pondicherry protested against the treaty, as a measure highly detrimental to the interests of their nation, which, they said, would be sacrificed to private advantages, if Madrass was not razed to the ground. Disputes ensued, which, fortunately for the English affairs, prevented many evils, which in all probability would have befallen them, if the councils of the enemy had not been divided by these contentions. For on the 27th of September three ships of war, one of 72, the others of 40 guns, with 1,360 men on board, arrived at Pondicherry, and with this reinforcement, the French force was sufficient to have conquered the rest of the English settlements in Indostan. Such indeed was the destination and intention of De la Bourdonnais; and he would have immediately began to carry this plan of hostilities into execution, if all his operations had not been contradicted by Mr. Dupleix, and the council of Pondicherry.

However, the effects of Madrass, which Mr. De la Bourdonnais intended to carry away in his ships, were put on board by the 1st of October, and two of them had sailed to Pondicherry. Mr. Dupleix was not as yet reconciled to the treaty of ransom, and Mr. De la Bourdonnais was determined not to leave Madrass before the governor and council of Pondicherry had given their approbation: at the same time his experience in the navigation of India fully apprized him of the danger to which his ships were exposed, by remaining on the coast of Coromandel at this critical season of the year.

In India the year is divided into two seasons. From the month of October to March the winds blow from the north, and during the rest of the year from the southern points of the compass: these sea-

1746 sons are by mariners called monsoons: the change from one to the other is generally preceded by an interval of about twenty days, in which calms, or light and uncertain winds prevail: the setting in of the northern monsoon generally falls out some time in the month of October, as that of the southern in the month of April. On the coast of Coromandel the northern monsoon sometimes begins with a violent tempest or hurricane; and if the monsoon sets in with moderation, it is often productive of tempestuous weather at different intervals, until the middle of December, and sometimes later; so that it is held dangerous for any vessels to remain on the coast after the 15th of October, or to return to it before the 20th of December.

On the 2d of October the weather was remarkably fine and moderate all day. About midnight a furious storm arose, and continued with the greatest violence until the noon of the next day. Six of the French ships were in the road when the storm began, and not one of them was to be seen at day-break. One put before the wind, and was driven so much to the southward, that she was not able to gain the coast again: the 70 gun ship lost all her masts: three others of the squadron were likewise dismasted, and had so much water in the hold, that the people on board expected every minute to perish, notwithstanding they had thrown over-board all the cannon of the lower tier: the other ship, during the few moments of a whirlwind which happened in the most furious part of the storm, was covered by the waves, and foundered in an instant, and only six of the crew escaped alive. Twenty other vessels belonging to different nations, were either driven on shore, or perished at sea.

The other two ships, laden with part of the effects of Madrass, together with the three lately arrived from Europe, were at anchor in the road of Pondicherry, where they felt no effect of the storm which was raging at Madrass: It is observed, that the violence of these hurricanes is generally confined to 60 or 80 miles in breadth, although in their progress they generally blow quite across the Bay of Bengal.

The articles of the treaty of ransom had been adjusted the day before the storm happened. It was agreed that the French should

evacuate

evacuate the town by the 4th of October; and by one of the articles, the artillery and warlike stores remaining in the town, were to be equally divided between the French and English. 1746

Mr. Dupleix had represented to Mr. De la Bourdonnais, that he would not interfere in any transactions with the English after his departure, unless the French remained in possession of Madrass for so much time as might be necessary to adjust all discussions arising from the treaty. Mr. De la Bourdonnais therefore represented to the English, the necessity to which he was reduced, by the obstinacy of Mr. Dupleix, of protracting for three months, the term in which he had agreed to put them in possession of the town: the English, apprehensive that if they refused to admit of this alteration, they should be left to the mercy of Mr. Dupleix without a treaty, acquiesced in this proposal; and the treaty was signed on the 10th of October.

All the merchandizes, and a part of the military stores, belonging to the East India company, together with all the naval stores found in the town, had been laden on board of the French ships: these articles, according to the computation made by the French, amounted to 130,000 pounds sterling; and the gold and silver of which they took possession to the value of 31,000 pounds sterling; the half of the artillery and military stores was estimated at 24,000 pounds sterling: all the other effects and merchandizes were relinquished to the proprietors of them. It was agreed that the French should evacuate the town before the end of the ensuing January, after which the English were to remain in possession of it, without being attacked by them again during the war. Upon these conditions the governor and council of Madrass agreed to pay the sum of 1,100,000 pagodas, or 440,000 pounds sterling. Of this sum 240,000 pounds were to be paid at Pondicherry, by six equal payments, before the month of October in the year 1749: and for the remaining 200,000 pounds, bills were drawn on the East India company in London, payable a few months after they should be presented. The English gave hostages for the performance of this treaty.

On the 12th of October, Mr. De la Bourdonnais invested one of the council of Pondicherry, appointed by Mr. Dupleix, with the government

1746 vernment of Madrass, and went on board of his own ship, which had been refitted with jury masts. He anchored in the road of Pondicherry on the 15th, and sailed from thence the 20th with seven ships, intending to proceed to Achin: but foreseeing that a part of them would probably be unable to reach that port, he formed the squadron into two divisions; one consisted of the three ships which arrived last from Europe, together with another that had escaped the storm: these were all in good condition; and were therefore ordered to make their way to Achin, without waiting for the other division, which consisted of Mr. De la Bourdonnais' 70 gun ship, one that had been dismasted, and a merchant-ship which had likewise suffered in the storm. The four sound ships very soon sailed out of sight of their comrades: and Mr. De la Bourdonnais, finding that the shattered condition of the other three rendered them incapable of gaining their destined port against a violent and contrary wind, made sail for the island of Mauritius, where they arrived in the beginning of December without any accident. He soon after left Mauritius, which, from a forest, he had rendered a flourishing colony, and the arsenal of all the French military expeditions in India. Every body knows the treatment he received on his arrival in France. The friends of Mr. Dupleix had influence enough at the court to get him confined to the bastile, where he remained a prisoner almost three years: upon an examination of his conduct, his justification, proved by original papers which have been made public, procured him his liberty. Had he survived the subsequent ill successes of his nation at sea, his abilities would probably have raised him to the highest commands in the navy of France. His knowledge in mechanics rendered him capable of building a ship from the keel: his skill in navigation, of conducting her to any part of the globe: and his courage, of defending her against any equal force. In the conduct of an expedition, he superintended all the details of the service, without being perplexed either with the variety or number of them. His plans were simple, his orders precise, and both the best adapted to the service in which he was engaged. His application was incessant; and difficulties served only to encrease his activity, which always gave the example of zeal to those he commanded.

The

The storm ruined the French marine force in India, and preserved 1746
the English establishments from imminent danger: but the events which ensued on the Coast of Coromandel, seem to have been the consequence of that augmentation of troops, which Pondicherry acquired after the French squadron was reduced to the incapacity of attempting any farther expeditions. Mr. De la Bourdonnais left behind him 1,200 disciplined men; 450 more were landed out of the three ships which came last into India, and 8 or 900 sailors were taken out of the ships that remained on the coast, and disciplined as soldiers. By which additions the forces of Pondicherry amounted to 3,000 Europeans.

The Nabob An'war-odean, very soon after the French had taken Madras, began to suspect, or had discovered, that the promise of Mr. Dupleix to put him in possession of the town, was a fraud employed to divert him from giving the English any assistance during the siege. He determined to revenge this affront by laying siege to Madras; which he made no doubt of taking from the French, with as much ease as they had taken it from the English: for measuring the military abilities of the Europeans, by the great respect and humility with which they had hitherto carried themselves in all their transactions with the Mogul government; he imagined that this submission in their behaviour proceeded from a consciousness of the superior military prowess of the Moors.

Some of his troops arrived in the neighbourhood of Madrass before Mr. De la Bourdonnais's departure, and soon after, his eldest son, Maphuze Khan with the rest. The whole army amounted to 10,000 men, and invested the town: two deputies were immediately sent to treat with him, and these he kept prisoners. The French governor had received orders from Mr. Dupleix to refrain as long as possible from committing any hostilities against Maphuze Khan, who imputed this inaction to fear: and having received information of the dispositions which Mr. De la Bourdonnais had made for the attack of the place, he endeavoured to imitate them; great heaps of faggots and earth were brought to the spot where the French had erected one of their batteries of mortars against the town: here the

1746 Moors intended to form a battery of their cannon, which were so old, as not to be fired without risk to those who managed them.

A shallow river ran along the western side of Madrass : its outlet to the sea was about 700 yards to the south of the White Town ; but this was generally stopped by a mound, formed of the sands, which were continually thrown up by the surf. This obstruction confining the waters of the river, rendered it of as much defence as a wet ditch to that part of the town by which it passed. The Nabob's army intended to escalade the Black Town, of which the walls were low, and the bastions of very little strength ; this had been the project of Mr. De la Bourdonnais. To facilitate their approach to the walls in a general assult, they employed a great number of men to cut through the mound of sand ; a practice which they were informed the English always made use of, whenever they thought it necessary to drain the river. At the same time a large body of troops took possession of a spring lying about three miles to the north of the town, which was the only source from which the inhabitants were supplied with good water. These measures shewed a degree of intelligence very uncommon in the military operations of the Moors. The French finding the waters of the river decrease, and their communication with the spring interrupted, commenced hostilities, and fired from the bastions of the Black and White Town, upon the Moors, wherever they appeared ; who immediately retreated from the mound, and the rest of their stations, which were exposed to this fire ; but still kept possession of the ground near the spring, which was out of the reach of cannon-shot from the town.

The next day, being the 22nd of October, a body of 400 men, with two field pieces, marched out of the town, and attacked that quarter of of the Nabob's army, which was encamped to the north-west, between the town and the spring. Their cavalry mounted on the first alarm, and uniting their squadrons, advanced with the appearance of resolution. Having never experienced the effect of field pieces, they had no conception that it was possible to fire, with execution, the same piece of cannon five or six times in a minute ; for in the aukward management of their own clumsy artillery,

artillery, they think they do well if they fire once in a quarter of an hour. The French detachment concealed their two field pieces behind their line, until the enemy's cavalry approached near enough to feel the full effect of them; when the line opening to the right and left, the field pieces began to fire: two or three of the enemy's horses were killed by the first discharge, which threw the whole body into confusion: however they kept their ground some time, as if waiting for an intermission of the fire; but, finding that it continued with vivacity they took to flight with great precipitation. The French plundered their tents and baggage without interruption, and took two pieces of cannon, so little fit for service, that they flung them into a well. They did not lose a man in the attack, and killed about seventy of the Moors. 1746

Maphuze Khan, immediately after this defeat, collected all his troops into one camp, about two miles to the westward of the town: but upon hearing that the French expected a reinforcement from Pondicherry, he quitted this camp the next day, and took possession of St. Thomé, a town situated about four miles to the south of Madrass.

This place, once in the possession of the Protuguese, and during the time of their prosperity in India famous for the splendor and riches of its inhabitants, has long since been reduced to a town of little note or resort, although it still gives title to a Portuguese bishop. The town had no defence, excepting here and there the remains of a ruined wall: a river ran into the sea from the west, about a quarter of a mile to the south of the town. Maphuze Khan took possession of the strand between the river and the town with his whole army, and planted his artillery along the bank of the river.

On the 24th of October the French detachment arrived, by break of day, at the bank of the river opposite to St. Thomé, and found the Nabob's troops, horse and foot, drawn up on the other side, to oppose their passage. It had been concerted, that a party of 400 men should march from Madrass, and attack the Moors on the northern side of the town, at the same time that the detachment from Pondicherry attacked them on the south: but the troops from Madrass

1746 drass failed to arrive in time. The other detachment nevertheless advanced without hesitation to the attack. The river was fordable, and they passed it without loss, notwithstanding they were exposed to the fire of the enemy's artillery, which, as usual, was very ill served. As soon as they gained the opposite bank, they gave a general fire of their small arms, and then attacked with their bayonets. The Moors, unaccustomed to such hardy and precipitate onsets, gave way, and retreated into the town, where they again made a shew of resistance from behind some pallisadoes which they had planted in different parts of the south side. The French continued to advance in good order, and no sooner fired from three or four platoons than the Moors gave way again; when the horse and foot falling back promiscuously on each other in the narrow streets of the town, the confusion of the throng was so great, that they remained for some time exposed to the fire of the French, without being able to make resistance, or to retreat. Many were killed before the whole army could get out of the town, and gain the plain to the westward. Their general, Maphuze Khan, mounted on an elephant, on which the great standard of the Carnatic was displayed, was one of the first who made his escape. They were scarcely fled out of the town before the detachment from Madrass arrived, and assisted in the pillage of the enemy's baggage, among which were some valuable effects: many horses and oxen, and some camels were likewise taken. It is said, that the French troops murdered some of the Moors whom they found concealed in the houses they were plundering. This defeat struck such a terror into the Nabob's army, that they immediately retreated some miles from Madrass, and soon after returned to Arcot.

It was now more than a century since any of the European nations had gained a decisive advantage in war against the officers of the Great Mogul. The experience of former unsuccessful enterprizes, and the scantiness of military abilities which prevailed in all the colonies, from a long disuse of arms, had persuaded them that the Moors were a brave and formidable enemy; when the French at once broke through the charm of this timorous opinion, by defeating a whole army with a single battalion.

The officer who commanded the detachment, which routed the 1746
Moors at St. Thomé, was a Swiss, named Paradis. He had gained the favour of Mr. Dupleix, by manifesting a violent enmity against Mr. De la Bourdonnais: and Mr. Dupleix regarding him as the most proper person to carry into execution any opposition to Mr. De la Bourdonnais's measures, appointed Paradis governor of Madrass. At the same time, the French inhabitants of Pondicherry, instructed by Mr. Dupleix's emissaries, assembled and drew up a representation, addressed to Mr. Dupleix and the council, in which they set forth the necessity, as they pretended, of annulling the treaty of ransom. Mr. Dupleix, and the council of Pondicherry, affecting to respect the general voice of the inhabitants, which they had suborned, instructed Paradis to execute this resolution. On the 30th of October, the inhabitants of Madrass were called together; the French garrison was drawn up under arms, and a manifesto, addressed to the English, was publicly read. This paper contained the following declaration and injunctions:

The treaty of ransom made with Mr. De la Bourdonnais was declared null. The English were enjoined to deliver up the keys of all magazines without exception: all merchandizes, plate, provisions, warlike stores, and horses, were declared the property of the French company; but the English were permitted to dispose of their moveables, cloaths, and the jewels of the women: they were required to give their parole not to act against the French nation until they should be exchanged; and it was declared, that those who refused to obey this injunction, should be arrested and sent to Pondicherry. All, excepting such as were willing to take the oath of allegiance to the French King, were ordered to quit the town in four days, and were prohibited from taking up their residence within the bounds of Madrass, or in any of the country houses belonging to the English without those bounds.

Such injurious and distressful terms aggravated the iniquity of that breach of public faith which produced them.

The French put their manifesto into execution with the utmost rigour, and took possession of the effects of the English with an avaricious exactitude rarely practised by those who suddenly acquire valuable

1746 able booties: the fortunes of most of the English inhabitants were ruined. The governor and several of the principal inhabitants were conducted, by an escort of 400 men, to Pondicherry: here Mr. Dupleix, under pretence of doing them honour, caused them to enter the town in an ostentatious procession, which exposed them to the view of 50,000 spectators, like prisoners led in triumph. Others of the inhabitants, with several of the military officers, resolved not to give their parole, alledging very justly, that the breach of the treaty of ransom released them from that which they had given to Mr. De la Bourdonnais: and these made their escape out of the town by night, and, travelling through the country by various roads, went to the English settlement of Fort St. David.

The East India company was here in possession of a territory larger than that of Madrass: it had been purchased, about a hundred years before, from the Indian prince of the country; and their title to it was confirmed by the Mogul's viceroy, when the Moors conquered the Carnatic. The fort was situated near the sea 12 miles to the south of Pondicherry: it was small, but better fortified than any of its size in India, and served as a citadel to the company's territory. About a mile to the south of it was situated the town of Cuddalore, in which the principal Indian merchants, and many of the natives dependent on the company resided. This town extended 1,200 yards from north to south, and 900 from east to west: three of its sides were defended by walls flanked with bastions; that to the sea was for the greatest part open; but a river passing from the westward between Fort St. David and the town, flowed, just before it gains the sea, along the eastern side of the town, of which whilst it washed the skirts on one hand, it was on the other separated from the sea by a mound of sand, which the surf throws upon the shore in most parts of the coast. To the westward of the fort, and within the company's territory, were two or three populous villages, inhabited by the natives. The government of Fort St. David depended on that of Madrass, to which it was immediately the next in rank: but on the breach of the treaty of ransom, the company's agents at Fort St. David, regarding those of Madrass as prisoners to the French, took upon themselves the general administration on the coast of Coromandel.

They

They began their administration by applying to the Nabob of Arcot for his assistance against the French, by whom they expected every day to be attacked. The defeat of Maphuze Khan at St. Thome had irritated the Moors so much against that nation, that the Nabob readily engaged to send his army to Fort St. David, on condition that the English would furnish part of the expence. This proposal being agreed to, the army prepared to take the field in two bodies, one commanded by Maphuze Khan, and the other by his brother Mahomed-ally. 1746

In the beginning of December Mr. Dupleix recalled Paradis from Madrass to Pondicherry, intending to give him the command of an expedition he was preparing against Fort St. David. Paradis set out with a detachment of 300 Europeans, and took the opportunity of this escort to carry away what booty he had collected in his government. Maphuze Khan, desirous to revenge the defeat of St Thomé, resolved to intercept this detachment; and waited for it, with 3,000 horse and 2,000 foot, about ten miles to the north of Sadrass, a Dutch settlement lying 30 miles to the south of Madrass. The detachment marched in two bodies; one before and one behind the baggage, which was carried by Coolies, a cast of Indians whose sole occupation is to carry burthens. The Moorish cavalry continually harassed the rear, retreating as soon as the French prepared to fire, and returning as soon as they renewed their march: the infantry armed with match-locks, fired from the shelter of thickets and other covers at too great a distance to do execution. However these attacks greatly retarded the progress of the detachment; and Paradis, apprehensive of being overtaken by the night in the open plain, ordered his baggage to proceed before the first division, and then marched away himself with this body as fast as possible to Sadrass, leaving the rear to maintain the fight as they could; who nevertheless did not lose courage, and by never firing until the enemy were within certain reach of execution, made their way good to Sadrass, with the loss of 12 men, who faultering on the way were taken. These prisoners Maphuze Khan shewed as an incontestible proof of victory: and this opinion was in some measure confirmed by the conduct of Paradis, after his arrival at Sadrass, not venturing to proceed until he had been reinforced

1746 forced by a large detachment from Pondicherry ; which it is probable he had only demanded for the greater security of his own baggage, which consisted of valuable effects. Maphuze Khan, satisfied with the advantage he had gained, left the sea-coast the day after the action, and proceeded to join his brother Mahomed-ally, who had taken the field.

The troops destined to attack Fort St. David assembled at Ariancopang, a small fort built by the French about two miles to the south-west of Pondicherry, and about one mile and a half from the sea : but the officers refusing to admit Mr. Paradis to command them, in prejudice to the right of his seniors in the service ; the command was given to Mr. Bury, the oldest officer of the French troops in India.

The European troops in the service of the colonies established in Indostan, never consisted intirely of natives of that country to which the colony belongs : on the contrary, one half at least was composed of men of all the nations in Europe. The christians, who call themselves Portuguese, always formed part of a garrison : they are little superior in courage to the lower casts of Indians, and greatly inferior to the higher casts, as well as the northern Moors of Indostan ; but because they learn the manual exercise and the duties of a parade with sufficient readiness, and are clad like Europeans, they are incorporated into the companies of European troops. From wearing a hat, these pretended Portuguese obtained amongst the natives of India the name of Topasses ; by which name the Europeans likewise distinguish them. The Indian natives, and Moors, who are trained in the European manner, are called Sepoys : in taking our arms and military exercise, they do not quit their own dress or any other of their customs. The Sepoys are formed into companies and battalions, and commanded by officers of their own nation and religion. Those troops of the natives, who bring with them their own arms, and continue their own manner of using them, retain the names they bear in their several countries ; but on the coast of Coromandel the Europeans distinguish all these undisciplined troops, whether armed with swords and targets, with bows and arrows, with pikes and lances, with match-locks, or even with muskets, by the general name of Peons.

In

In the night of the 8th of December the French army set out from Ariancopang, and arrived the next morning, by break of day, at the river Pannar, which runs into the sea about a mile and a half to the north of Fort St. David : their force consisted of 1,700 men, for the most part Europeans, of which 50 were cavalry : they had one or two companies of Caffre slaves, natives of Madagascar and of the eastern coast of Africa ; which had been disciplined, and brought into India, by Mr. De la Bourdonnais. Their artillery consisted of six field pieces, and as many mortars. 1746

The garrison of Fort St. David, with the addition of the officers and soldiers who had made their escape from Madrass, consisted of no more than 200 Europeans, and 100 Topasses. These were intended to defend the fort : and as the Nabob's behaviour, when Madrass was attacked by De la Bourdonnais, had caused the English to suspect his assurances of assistance, they hired 2,000 Peons for the defence of Cuddalore and the company's territory, and distributed 8 or 900 muskets amongst them. At this time the English had not adopted the idea of training the Indian natives in the European discipline, notwithstanding the French had set the example, by raising four or five companies of Sepoys at Pondicherry.

The French army crossed the river Pannar, and entered the company's territory without any other opposition than the fire of some of the Peons, who galled them a little from behind thickets, and other covers ; but retreated as soon as fired upon by the enemy's field-pieces. At the distance of a mile and a half to the north-west of Fort St. David was a country-house appointed for the residence of the governor, behind which, to the north, was a large garden inclosed with a brick wall, and before the house, to the south, a court with buildings on each side of it. The ford where the French had passed the river was about a quarter of a mile from the garden ; in which some Peons were stationed, whom the enemy soon dislodged. Mr. Dupleix having received intelligence that the Nabob had sent no more than 1,500 men to the assistance of the English, had instructed Mr. Bury to march through the company's territory, and assault the town of Cuddalore. The French, having met with no other resistance than

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1746 from the irregular skirmishes of the Peons, suspected no other attacks, and from this confidence, the soldiers, fatigued with a march of twelve miles, were permitted, as soon as they had taken possession of the garden, to lay down their arms; and the officers neglected to station guards, or to take the usual precautions which are generally thought indispensible against a surprize. In a few minutes the whole army had quitted their arms, and every man was straggling according to his own inclination: some were cutting wood to dress their meal, some were cooking it, some were eating, and others were laid down to sleep: the Coolies and the Indians conducting the camels, carts, and oxen laden with the baggage, discharged it promiscuously in the court before the garden-house, and then dispersed. Such was the general disorder, when a large body of forces, horse and foot, were discovered approaching in good order from the westward. These were the Nabob's army, consisting of 6,000 horse and 3,000 foot, under the command of his sons Maphuze Khan and Mahomed-ally, who having united the forces they separately commanded, had arrived the preceding day on the plain of Chimundelum, four miles to the west of Fort St. David.

Every man ran to his arms in confusion, and terror prevented them from conceiving the advantage of their situation in the garden, the walls of which secured them from the attack of cavalry: but imagining that their safety consisted in recrossing the river before they should be attacked, they hurried out of the garden into the open plain; all, excepting the artillery, in much disorder. The enemy came up before they reached the river. The Peons of the Nabob's army, joined by those belonging to the English, intermixed with the cavalry, and kept up a constant but irregular fire, whilst the cavalry advanced sword in hand in various onsets; but they were always repulsed by the fire of the artillery.

As soon as the French troops had gained the bank, they plunged into the river, where the water was four feet deep; and many flung away their arms before they reached the other side: but the artillery continued to preserve their courage, and saved the field-pieces, transporting them over the river one after another; and turning them again upon the enemy as soon as they were landed on the opposite bank.

The

The English at Fort St. David were apprized of the arrival of the Nabob's army at Chimundelum; and the whole garrison, excepting 50 Topasses, sallied out as soon as they perceived the French retreating, but did not come up in time to assist in interrupting their passage over the river. Having prevailed upon the Nabob's army to accompany them, they advanced in pursuit of the French, but did not overtake them until they had marched six miles on the other side of the river. By this time the French troops had recovered from their panic, and were drawn up in such good order, that it was not thought prudent to attack them. They continued their march to Ariancopang, where they arrived at seven in the evening, having been in motion, with very little respite, for 24 hours. On a review of a state of their army, it was found that 120 of their Europeans had been wounded, and 12 killed. They had left behind them at the garden all the baggage which was come up before the Moors appeared. The English, on their return from the pursuit, found several chests of musquets, and other military stores; but a body of the Nabob's cavalry had plundered all the rest of the baggage as soon as the French quitted the garden. 1746

Mr. Dupleix judging, from the ill success of this expedition, that any open attempts against the English at Fort St. David would be frustrated whilst the Moors continued to assist them, entered into a correspondence with the Nabob and Maphuze Khan, to induce them to withdraw their troops: and at the same time he formed a project to take Cuddalore by surprize. The French army continued at Ariancopang; and on the night of the 30th of December 500 men embarked in boats, with orders to proceed by sea to Cuddalore, where they were to enter the river which runs along the eastern side, and to attack this open quarter of the town at break of day. The boats were scarcely through the surf, when the wind rose from the south, and blew so hard that several of them filled with water, and all were obliged to put back. The surf beat so high on the shore, that the soldiers flung away their arms, as dangerous incumbrances; for in high surfs the boat is quitted as soon as it touches the ground, lest the succeeding wave should break upon it, and overwhelm those who are in it.

1746 Mr. Dupleix, thus disappointed a second time in his views against Cuddalore, finding that the Nabob's army still continued with the English, attempted to cause a diversion of their troops, by carrying the war into the Nabob's country near Madrass. A detachment from the town marched 20 miles inland, burning and destroying villages without resistance; for the inhabitants took to flight as they approached; and the Nabob had no troops in that part of his country. The French found large quantities of grain in several places, which they set fire to, for want of means to carry it away. They gained no advantage but plunder by this expedition; for the Moors remained at Fort St. David, and the Nabob was more exasperated than before.

1747 On the 9th of January the four ships, that composed the largest division of the squadron in which Mr. De la Bourdonnais quitted the coast, returned from Achin to Pondicherry. Mr. Dupleix informed the Nabob of their arrival, exaggerated the addition of force which Pondicherry received from it, and at the same time represented the English at Fort St. David as a handful of men abandoned by the rest of their countrymen. The princes of Indostan, as well as their subjects, take no pains to inform themselves of any affairs excepting those of their own country; and the long absence of the English squadron, joined to the precipitation with which it had quitted the coast in September, concurred with Mr. Dupleix's assertions, to make the Moors believe that the English concerns in India were becoming desperate. The governments of Indostan have no idea of national honour in the conduct of their politics; and as soon as they think the party with whom they are engaged is reduced to great distress, they shift, without hesitation, their alliance to the opposite side, making immediate advantage the only rule of their action. The Nabob ordered his son Maphuze Khan to listen to Mr. Dupleix's proposals of an accommodation, and sent back to Pondicherry the two deputies who had been detained prisoners by Maphuze Khan, when he invested Madrass. One of these prisoners was nephew to Mr. Dupleix, and the other a member of the council of Pondicherry: they had been kept at Arcot during their captivity, and were perhaps the only Europeans, excepting some vagabonds and Jesuits, who had made so long a residence in the capital of the Carnatic, since the pro-

vince had been conquered by the Great Mogul. The Moors had 1747
hitherto been careful to prevent Europeans from informing themselves of the state of the country, and the Europeans, solely employed in commerce, were so little solicitous of acquiring such information, that at this time they knew as little of Arcot as of Delhi.

But Mr. Dupleix, while he was persuading the Nabob that the English affairs were without resource, was himself apprehensive of the return of their squadron, and did not think the ships arrived from Achin a force sufficient to encounter it; therefore, as soon as he found that there was a probability of withdrawing the Moors from the assistance of the English, he ordered the ships to quit the coasts of Coromandel. They left Pondicherry the 8th of February, and sailed to Goa, the capital of the Portuguese settlements in India. A few days after, Maphuze Khan came to Pondicherry, where he was received with pomp and much respect. Mr. Dupleix paid him 50,000 rupees in money, and made him a present of European trinkets to the value of 100,000 rupees more: a peace was concluded between the French and the Nabob, who recalled his army from Fort St. David. The English at Fort St. David had not hitherto received any supplies either from Europe or the colonies in India.

A ship from England belonging to the company appeared in sight of Madrass in the month of November, and ignorant of the loss of the place, approached the road. The governor Paradis, immediately hoisted English colours in the town, and sent some soldiers on board of the ship which was taken when Madrass surrendered. This ship likewise hoisted English colours. The ship from the sea, deceived by these appearances, cast anchor near the prize, which immediately attacked her, but in so unskilful a manner, that Paradis apprehending the prize herself would be taken, began to fire from the batteries of the town upon the English ship, which, discovering by these hostilities that Madrass was in possession of the French, weighed her anchor, and went out of the road without having received any damage. In January another ship from England came to an anchor before Madrass: the French immediately sent, by a fishing-float, a letter written in English, pretending that the town was invested by the Moors,

1747 Moors, and that they should immediately send boats to bring on shore the treasure and the soldiers. The captain, deceived by this letter, as well as by the flag which was flying in the town, entertained no suspicion, and permitted the boats to come to the ship without examination. A number of soldiers were concealed in them, who in the same instant boarded the ship from different quarters. The greatest part of the ship's company were enfeebled by the scurvy, and those who were capable of making resistance were so much surprised, that they were easily overpowered. This was a rich prize, having on board besides merchandizes 60,000 pounds sterling in bullion. In the interval another of the companiy's ships anchored in the road of Fort St. David, where the governor immediately sent off a letter to the captain, acquainting him with the loss of Madrass, of the great superiority of the French force on the coast of Coromandel, and of the distresses to which the fort was reduced by the want both of men and money. The ship was, as usual, consigned to the governor and council of Madrass; and the distresses of Fort St. David, instead of inducing the captain to assist them, only suggested to him the risk to which his own fortune might be exposed, by landing the company's treasure, contrary to the letter of his instructions, in a settlement threatened with such imminent danger: he therefore refused to comply with the request of the governor, and set sail for Bengal without landing the soldiers, or any part of the cargo. These sinister accidents served to confirm Mr. Dupleix's assertions, even in the opinion of the English themselves, that their situation was growing desperate, when at last, on the 19th of February, the ship which had escaped out of the road of Madrass in November came from Ceylon, and landed 60,000*l.* in silver, together with 20 recruits for the garrison: the money was a very important supply; for the treasury of Fort St. David was almost exhausted when the ship arrived.

The French army appeared in sight of Fort St. David in the morning of the 2nd of March: it consisted of the same troops which had been routed by the Moors at the garden: but Mr. Dupleix had now prevailed on the officers to receive Mr. Paradis for their commander. The English garrison marched out, with three field pieces, and a troop of horse composed chiefly of volunteers, to prevent the French from crossing

crossing the river Pannar, and found them drawn up about 600 yards 1747
on the other side of it: they cannonaded one another during the greatest part of the day; and in the evening, part of the French army crossed the river, out of the reach of cannon-shot, to the westward: the horse were detached to reconnoitre them, and returned with the loss of two men killed by the fire of the French Caffres; upon which all the troops retreated to the fort. Of the English 12 men, and of the French, 22 were killed during the cannonade. Before morning the whole French army had passed the river, and taken possession of the garden. A few hours afterwards a number of ships were descried in the offing, approaching the road: these were the English squadron from Bengal. The French no sooner perceived them than they recrossed the river, and marched back with great precipitation towards Pondicherry.

The squadron had been reinforced in Bengal by the arrival of two ships, one of 60 guns and the other of 40, sent from England with admiral Griffin. The presidency of Bengal sent in the squadron a company of 100 Europeans, who were landed as soon as the ships anchored; and Mr. Griffin likewise went on shore with 150 marines and 500 sailors: but these were only intended to be a temporary augmentation of the garrison. The ships were soon after stationed in sight of Pondicherry, where their appearance made Mr. Dupleix recall the French army into the town.

In the month of June, a reinforcement of 100 Europeans, 200 Topasses, and 100 Sepoys, arrived from Bombay, and 400 Sepoys from the English settlement of Tellicherry: 150 soldiers came likewise in the company's ships in the course of the year from Europe. In September, the squadron sailed to Madrass, and their boats set fire to and destroyed, in the road, the Neptune of 50 guns, one of the ships of Mr. De la Bourdonnais's squadron, which had remained on the coast ever since his departure.

Notwithstanding the approach of the stormy monsoon in October, Mr. Griffin determined to continue with the squadron in sight of Fort St. David; the monsoon began and continued without any violent hurricane; but the weather was notwithstanding so stormy that only two of the ships, one of which was the admiral, were able to keep their

1747 their stations. The rest made sail to the Bay of Trinconomalee in Ceylon; to which place Mr. Griffin with the other ship likewise went in December to take in wood and water, and returned to Fort St. David in the beginning of the year 1748 with all the squadron, excepting the Medway. This ship, which had been the first cause of the English disgraces and misfortunes in India, was in so bad a condition, that she was soon after condemned as unfit for service; she had been hove down at Calcutta in Bengal, but her leaks had not been thoroughly repaired.

1748 In the month of January 1748, Major Lawrence arrived from England at Fort St. David, with a commission to command all the East India company's forces in India. At this time intelligence was received that Mr. Dupleix was preparing to make another attempt against Cuddalore: upon which the Major ordered all the troops at Fort St. David to form a camp between the garden and the river Pannar. Here they continued some time; when it was discovered that the commander of the Tellicherry Sepoys, a Moor, had formed a design to desert with all his men to the French, in the first engagement that should happen. This discovery led to others. It was found that an Indian, who, before Madrass was lost, had acted as interpreter and agent of the English governor of that place, carried on a correspondence with the wife of Mr. Dupleix in the Malabar language, which she understood. When the governor was removed by the French to Pondicherry, this man accompanied him; and Mrs. Dupliex, by civilities and promises, engaged him to give her intelligence of the transactions of the English at Fort St. David, which he had for some time done with great punctuality. The facts were proved; and the traitor, with another Indian his accomplice, was hanged. The commander of the Tellicherry Sepoys, with ten other officers belonging to that body, were banished to the island of St. Helena, where several of them assisted one another in putting an end to their lives, rather than remain in slavery in a place, of which the situation excluded them from all hopes of being able to make their escape to their native country.

The four French ships which sailed from Pondicherry in February 1747, left Goa and the coast of Malabar in October, and sailed to the island of Mauritius. They were here joined by three others, one of 50 and

and two of 40 guns, sent from France. The two 40 gun ships had 1748
been in India, and had taken an English East India ship in sight of
the island of Bombay. This prize would have been very considerable, had not the vigilance of the governor of the island saved the silver that was on board, by sending from the shore two fishing-boats, which brought away the treasure, whilst the ship was defending itself against the enemy.

On the 9th of June at night the English 20 gun ship returned from a cruize, and brought intelligence to Fort St. David, that she had discovered seven large ships and two smaller vessels to the south. These were the French squadron which had sailed from Mauritius in the latter end of April. The English squadron, lately reinforced by three ships from England, was now composed of three ships of 60 guns, three of 50, three of 40, and one of 20 guns. These were at anchor in the road ; but the rudders of two of the 40 gun ships were unhung, and Mr. Griffin and several of the officers were on shore, where many of the men were likewise, in the hospital.

During the southern monsoon the wind blows constantly from the south-west in all parts of the Bay of Bengal, except at the distance of 10 or 15 leagues from the land ; and here it generally changes in 24 hours, blowing a part of this time from the sea at south-east, and during the rest from the land at south-west : the land-wind generally rises about midnight, and lasts till noon, but it is not always confined to this interval ; for some days it continues until the evening, and at other times, when very strong, blows for three or four days without interruption. The sea-wind very seldom continues more than 12 hours, and is generally preceded by a short interval of calm. During the southern monsoon the currents, as well near the land as out at sea, drive strongly to the north.

A ship during the sea-wind cannot gain way to the south ; for the sea is then rough, and the wind seldom inclines to the east of the south-east point : but as the land-wind often veers to the west point, and always renders the sea smooth within sight of the coast, ships bound to the south make some progress during this wind, and either drop anchor to maintain their ground if they are near shore when the land-wind fails, or if they are at some distance they continue under

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1748 sail, and with the sea-wind come near the shore, where they are ready to avail themselves again of the land-wind as soon as it sets in. By these operations a vessel that sails well sometimes gets ten or fifteen miles to the south in a day; but it is not uncommon to see others employed a month in getting only 100 miles to the southward.

On the 10th of June at an hour and a half after noon the French ships were discerned in the south-east. The sea-wind was set in, and they were sailing directly before it toward Fort St. David. The position of the English squadron, at anchor near the land to leeward, rendered it impossible for them to get nearer the enemy during the sea-wind; for had they weighed anchor immediately, the nearest course they could have made would have been to the north-east out to sea, and this would very soon have carried them to leeward of Pondicherry. Mr. Griffin therefore determined not to weigh anchor till night, when the land-wind should set in: in the interval the men on shore were ordered to join their ships. At four in the afternoon the French squadron, being within three leagues of the road, altered their course, and plied to the south-west. This operation made the English believe that they kept to windward with intention to gain Pondicherry at all events. About midnight the English put to sea with the land-wind, endeavouring to keep in the latitude of Fort St. David; and in the morning they shortened sail, in expectation every minute of seeing the enemy again to the south; but before the evening they fell to leeward of Pondicherry, when Mr. Griffin, finding his expectations deceived, made sail to Madrass, where he arrived the next evening, and found no French ships in the road.

The French squadron was commanded by Mr. Bouvet, governor of the isle of Bourbon, an able and experienced mariner. He had been apprized, at the French settlement of Karical, of the superior force of the English: his operations, when in sight of Fort St. David, were designed to make the English believe that he intended to engage them the next morning: but as soon as the night set in he changed his course, and crouding all the sail his ships could carry, went away to Madrass, where he arrived the next morning the 11th of June, and immediately landed 400 soldiers, with 200,000 pounds in silver, which had been sent from France to the island of Mauritius

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for the service of Pondicherry. Having thus effected the design of his voyage, he put out to sea on his return to Mauritius before the English squadron appeared in sight of Madrass. 1748

Mr. Dupleix perceiving that the English squadron had sailed to Madrass, from whence they could not return to Fort St. David in some days, determined to avail himself of their absence, and make another attack upon Cuddalore. Eight hundred Europeans, with 1,000 Sepoys, marched from Pondicherry, and making a circuit inland, arrived on the 17th of June in the morning within three miles of Cuddalore, at the hills of Bandapolam. Here they halted during the day, and intended at night to attack Cuddalore by surprize.

Major Lawrence receiving intelligence of this design, ordered the garrison to march and the cannon to be removed to Fort St. David, intending by this operation to make the French believe that he did not think the place tenable. As soon as night came on, the garrison, augmented to the number of 400 Europeans, together with the cannon, were sent back to Cuddalore, with the precautions necessary to prevent the enemy from receiving intelligence of their return. The stratagem succeeded.

At midnight the French advanced with scaling ladders, which they no sooner began to apply to the walls than they received the fire of all the musketry from the ramparts, together with that of four or five pieces of cannon loaded with grape-shot. This unexpected resistance struck the whole body, officers as well as soldiers, with a panic. Most of the men flung away their arms without firing a shot: but the precipitation of their flight prevented the English fire from doing much execution amongst them: nor did their fears quit them when arrived at the place of their encampment; for expecting to be followed, they marched on without halting until they came to the bounds of Pondicherry.

It was now some time that Mr. Dupleix had, with great activity, been employed in making dispositions to resist an armament bound to the East Indies under the command of admiral Boscawen, of whose destination the French at Pondicherry, as well as the English at Fort St. David, had received intelligence. This armament consisted of one ship of 74 guns, one of 64, two of 60, two of 50, one

1748 of 20, a sloop of 14 guns, a bomb ketch with her tender, and an hospital-ship. These belonged to the navy of England; and 11 of the East India company's ships were likewise employed to transport the military stores, and the regular troops, which amounted to 1,400 men. This fleet left England in November, and the greatest part arrived at the Cape of Good Hope the latter end of March, but five ships not until the 15th of April. They were joined at the Cape by six ships belonging to the Dutch East India company, on board of which were 400 soldiers. The troops having been landed to refresh, were all reimbarked before the 26th of April, when it was intended to sail; but contrary winds and weather detained the fleet until the 8th of May, when they left the Cape, bound to the island of Mauritius, which Mr. Boscawen was ordered to attack in his way to the coast of Coromandel.

The Portuguese in their first navigations to India, discovered three islands, lying to the eastward of Madagascar, between the 19th and 20th degree of latitude. The most western of these, from the name of the person who discovered it, they called Mascarenhas; but the French, when they took possession of it in 1675, gave it the name of Bourbon, which now prevails. The eastern Island the Portuguese called Diego Reys; which name it retains to this day; and that between Bourbon and Diego Reys they called Cerne, probably from a supposition that it was the Cerne of the ancients. The Dutch, when they made this a station of refreshment for their ships coming from India, called it Mauritius: the French, when they took possession of it in the beginning of the present century, named it the Isle of France; but this appellation has prevailed only amongst themselves, the other Europeans still calling it Mauritius.

The Portuguese found on these islands neither men nor any four-footed animals, excepting land-tortoises, but great flocks of paroquets, doves, and sea-fowls; and the sea abounds with fish of various kinds, and with great numbers of turtle.

The island of Bourbon is 60 miles in length from north to south, and 45 in breadth from east to west. It has no port; and the only part where boats can land is in the road of St. Paul to the north-west. It has no plains, the whole being either hills of easy ascent, or steep moun-

mountains separated by narrow vallies. These mountains continue 1748
rising one above another from the sea coast to the middle of the island ; so that in whatever view it is seen at a distance, it appears one convex surface rising out of the sea. The French took possession of it in the year 1665, and finding the soil rich, cultivated it with great assiduity ; it now produces wheat, and most of the garden vegetables of Europe, as well as those of India, with many fruits peculiar to both climates : the mango, China orange, and peach, grow in great plenty, and in great perfection. But the principal object of their agriculture, and what has rendered the island of importance in their commerce, is the cultivation of the coffee-tree, of which they brought the plants from Beit-ul Fakih in Arabia ; and these have thriven so well, that the island now produces 2,000 tons of coffee every year. The cultivation of this tree, as well as most other services of toil, are performed by Caffre slaves brought from Africa and Madagascar. The French have a breed of horses, which, though small, are esteemed for their hardiness ; and they have reared beeves, goats, sheep, and hogs, in sufficient quantities to supply the wants of the inhabitants, although not in such plenty as to furnish provision for their shipping ; but this neglect seems to have arisen from the facility and cheapness wherewith these and other provisions may be procured from the western side of Madagascar, where they have settlements. Several families from France established themselves here soon after the French took possession of it, and from them are descended the present inhabitants, who are now multiplied to the number of 4,000, of which 1,000 are men capable of bearing arms : these have not degenerated from their ancestors, but on the contrary are a race so remarkable for stature and proportion, as well as for health and strength, that they equal, if not exceed in these qualities, the most athletic of the European nations. They are the only colony of Europeans established within the tropics which have preserved these advantages.

The inconveniencies arising from the want of a port at Bourbon, induced the French to take possession of Mauritius. This island extends about 45 miles in length from north to south, and about 30 from west to east. In the north-eastern quarter is a plain extend-

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1748 ing about ten miles from east to west, and in some places five miles in-land from the northern coast. All the rest of the island is full of high and steep mountains, laying so near to one another that the intervals between them, instead of vallies, form only beds of torrents; and these are choaked with vast fragments of stone torn from the rock above. The summits of these mountains are covered with forests of ebony and other large trees, and the ground under the shade of the trees produces herbage, shrubs, and plants of various sorts, from the common grass to the strongest thorn, in such profusion that they form a thicket so closely interwoven, that a step cannot be made, but with the hatchet in hand. Many plantations have been raised with success on these mountains, and some improvements made on the plain to the north-east; but the productions, altho' mostly of the same kind, are in less quantity, and in less perfection than at Bourbon: it produces no coffee; but, by the industry of M. De la Bourdonnais, sugar, indigo, and cotton, which are not at Bourbon, were cultivated here with success; and although these plantations have been much neglected since his departure, they may at any time be recovered. They are at this time endeavouring to cultivate the genuine cinnamon, from plants procured at Ceylon; but these, if they do not perish, will in all probability, from the difference of soil and climate, greatly degenerate. Iron mines have been discovered in the mountains, near the plain to the north-east; and, the mountains supplying great quantities of fuel, forges have been erected; but the iron produced is brittle, and is made into cannon-balls and shells for mortars. Beeves, sheep, and goats, are preserved with great difficulty: the beeves generally die before they have been a year in the island, and are therefore frequently imported from Madagascar and other parts. Common domestic fowls breed in great plenty; which, with fish and turtle, furnish a great part of the food of the European inhabitants; who have multiplied very little by marriage, most of them being natives of France. Their Caffre slaves are subject to great mortalities from the small-pox and other epidemical distempers.

Mauritius has two ports, one on the south-east coast, and the other on the north-west. The trade-wind from the south-east blows in these latitudes

latitudes all the year round, excepting for a few days at the summer 1748
solstice, when it is interrupted by hard gales and hurricanes from the north. The facility with which this wind enables ships to enter the south-east port, induced the French, when they first took possession of the island, to give the preference to this harbour; but on finding that the same wind often rendered the passage out so difficult that a ship was sometimes obliged to wait a fortnight before she could put to sea, they left it, and have ever since made use of the other harbour. This lies nearly in the middle of the north side of the island; and its entrance is through a channel formed by two shoals, which advance about a mile into the sea. When a ship arrives opposite to this channel, the south-east wind hinders her from entering the port under sail; and she must either warp in with cables, or be towed in by boats: the necessity of this operation, joined to the narrowness of the channel, which does not afford passage for two ships a-breast, is one of the greatest difficulties an enemy would meet with in attacking the harbour; for although there are two forts, and as many batteries, which command the channel, yet these might easily be reduced, if ships of force could approach them under sail. This port is capable of containing 100 sail, and is provided with all the necessaries for repairing and even for building of ships. The entrance of the south-east port is defended by batteries; and an army landed here would meet with great difficulties in passing over the mountains to the other parts of the island. There are several places, between the north-east extremity and the north-port, where boats may land; but these accesses are defended by batteries, and the country behind them is a continued thicket: the rest of the coast is inaccessible; and the French, relying on the difficulties of approaching the shore, had made no fortifications in any part of the island to obstruct the progress of an enemy when landed.

The greatest extent of Diego Reys is 27 miles: it is full of rocks, which harbour great numbers of land-tortoises of a very large size, which are esteemed excellent food: here the French keep a detachment of men, who are employed in catching these animals for the inhabitants of Mauritius; and this is the principal use they make of Diego Reys.

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1748 The south-east trade-wind obliges all ships bound to these islands to approach them from the east. The passage from Diego Reys to Mauritius is performed in two days, and from Mauritius to Bourbon in one; but it requires near a month to go from Bourbon either to Mauritius or Diego Reys: from April to October the voyage from Mauritius to the coast of Coromandel is easily performed in a month. These islands being out of the track of common intelligence, a large armament, sent in detail from France, may rendezvous in the port of Mauritius, and from thence arrive in India before any intelligence is received there either of its strength or destination: hence it is evident, that, if we have any regard to our settlements in India, the reduction of this place ought to be one of the first objects of our attention in the beginning of a war with France. The possession of Mauritius would probably be followed by the voluntary submission of Bourbon, or would certainly render it of no use to the French for the purposes of war.

The fleet was thirty-five days in its passage from the Cape of Good Hope to Mauritius, and came in sight of the eastern coast on the 23d of June at day-break. Three of the Dutch ships were missing, having separated from the rest in bad weather. As soon as the ships came to the north-east point of the island, they proceeded along the northern coast in a line of battle a-head, the men of war leading, and the company's ships following them; and before night they had advanced within two leagues of the port, and came to anchor in a kind of bay lying between the mouths of two small rivers. They had hitherto discovered only two places along the shore where the smoothness of the water seemed to indicate a possibility of making a descent, and each was defended by a fascine battery of six guns, which fired on the ships as they passed: all the rest of the shore was defended by rocks and breakers.

The next morning the French began to fire upon the squadron from two other fascine batteries raised at the entrance of the two rivers between which it was at anchor, and the fire was returned from one of the 50 gun ships, but with very little execution on either side.

Mr. Boscawen now ordered the sloop to reconnoitre the coast quite up to the port; and she reported, on her return, that she had been fired upon

upon by eight different batteries planted along the shore, as well as 1748
from the forts at the entrance of the harbour, where a large ship of two tiers lay at anchor, with her broadside across it; and that there were twelve other ships at anchor within the harbour, four of which were of force, and equipped for service. As soon as it was dark the barges of the six line of battle ships were sent to sound, and on their return reported that a reef of rocks ran all along about 20 yards from the shore, which rendered it impossible for boats to land, except at the entrance of the rivers over against which the fleet was at anchor, or at the harbour itself: here they had discovered, that the channel leading into it was not more than 100 fathom wide, and that this entrance would be subject to the greatest difficulties by the opposition of the south-east wind. Upon receiving this intelligence, the admiral called a council of war, composed of the principal land and sea officers, and it was resolved, that, as they were ignorant of the strength of the enemy, three armed boats should be sent to endeavour to land in the night, and take by surprize a man from the shore, from whom intelligence might probably be obtained: this was attempted, but in vain. The next morning, the 25th of June, the council of war assembled again, and were of opinion, that although their force was sufficient to reduce the island, yet the attack, and the maintenance of it when taken, would not only retard, but might probably disable the armament from undertaking the siege of Pondicherry, which Mr. Boscawen was instructed to consider as the principal object of his destination: it was therefore resolved to proceed to the coast of Coromandel without delay, that the squadron might arrive there in time to act before the change of the monsoon in October.

The island would certainly have been reduced, if the conquest of it had been the principal object of the armament; for the whole of the French force consisted only of 500 regular troops, 200 European inhabitants disciplined as militia, 1,500 Caffre slaves on whose service and attachment the French had little reliance, and 1,000 sailors belonging to the ships. If the wind, as it generally does, blew always against the entrance of the northern harbour, it would indeed be impracticable to reduce it with ships working against a contrary wind in a narrow channel, and exposed without resistance to the

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1748 fire of the enemy's ships and batteries. But it has been discovered that the south-east wind generally blows with least strength about sun-rise; and it also happens, on four or five days at intervals in the course of a month, that early in the morning this wind ceases in the northern part of the island for an hour or two, when a breeze rises, although faintly, from the north-west: during which a ship stationed at the entrance of the channel, to avail herself of this breeze, may enter the harbour and ply her cannon under sail.

The fleet left the island the 27th of June, when the Dutch ships, now joined by one of their comrades which had parted company during the passage, quitted the English, and sailed away for Batavia; and Mr. Boscawen steered for the coast of Coromandel, by the nearest passage, between the islands and shoals that lie to the north of Mauritius; he arrived on the 29th of July at Fort St. David, where he found the squadron under Admiral Griffin, who resigned the command to him, and a few days after proceeded with a sixty-gun ship and two frigates to Trinconomaly, from whence in the month of January he set sail with them to England.

The junction of the two squadrons formed the greatest marine force belonging to any one European nation that had ever been seen together in the East Indies; for it consisted of more than 30 ships, none of which were of less than 500 tons burden, and 13 of them men of war of the line. Every person attached to the English cause, who beheld this formidable force, was elated with joy, from expectation of its success; and no one doubted that the loss of Madrass would be revenged by the capture of Pondicherry. Preparations had been made at Fort St. David to enable Mr. Boscawen to proceed to action without delay; and on the 8th of August the army began to march.

Twelve independent companies of 100 men each, 800 marines belonging to the ships, with 80 artillery-men, composed the regular troops in the king's service: the company's troops consisted of a battalion of 750 men, of which 300 were Topasses, together with 70 artillery-men: the Dutch at Negapatam sent a reinforcement of 120 Europeans: and there were on board the ships, ready to be landed, 1,000 seamen, who had been taught the manual exercise at sea: in all 3,720 Europeans, and 300 Topasses, to which were joined about

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2,000 Sepoys, paid by the company, who as yet were scarcely better 1748
disciplined than common Peons. The Nabob An'war-odean, still changing sides, as he found the French or English affairs gaining the advantage, promised to send a body of 2,000 horse, but only 300 came, and they towards the end of the siege. The heavy cannon and the cumbrous stores were laden on board the ships, which proceeded before the army, and anchored two miles to the south of Pondicherry.

The company's agents at Fort St. David had gained very little intelligence necessary to direct Mr. Boscawen in his operations ; for when the army approaching near the bounds of Pondicherry, came in sight of the fort of Ariancopang, there was no person who could give a description of the place : however, it was determined that it should be taken before the army proceeded any farther. An engineer of the company's troops was ordered to reconnoitre it, but was afraid to go near enough to make certain observations : he however reported that the fort itself was of little strength, but that it was covered by an entrenchment. A deserter likewise reported that it was garrisoned only by 100 Sepoys : on which Mr. Boscawen determined to storm the place. Accordingly a detachment of 700 men marched at day-break against the east side of the fort to attack what they supposed the entrenchment, which on a nearer approach they discovered to be a heap of ruins ; they likewise perceived that the fort itself was a triangle regularly fortified with three cavaliers, a deep dry ditch full of pitfalls, and a covered way. These works were sufficient to protect the place from a sudden onset, even had it been only garrisoned as the deserter had reported ; instead of which it was defended by 100 Europeans and 300 Sepoys, under the command of Captain Law, an active officer. The English troops were immediately assailed from the walls with musketry and grape-shot ; and although they had brought no scaling-ladders, the fear of shame kept them in reach of the enemy's fire, until 150 were either killed or wounded. Major Goodere, the most experienced officer of the king's troops, was mortally wounded in this attack.

This blundering disaster greatly affected the spirits of the men. However, it was determined to persist in reducing Ariancopang, and the disciplined sailors, with eight pieces of battering cannon, were

1748 landed from the ships. The French, knowing the advantage of gaining time at this season of the year, prudently determined to defend the fort as long as possible. On the opposite side of the river which runs to the north, and close by the fort of Ariancopang, they erected a battery of heavy cannon to obstruct and enfilade the approaches to the fort. The English engineers erected a battery in the plain on the south side of the river, to oppose and silence that of the enemy; but such was their neglect in reconnoitring, or their want of skill in their art, that when at day-break they opened the battery, most of the guns were found to be intercepted from the sight of the enemy's by a thick wood. The artillery officers now offered their service to erect another, which they compleated with sufficient skill before the next morning: and for greater security, threw up before it an entrenchment, in which a large detachment, consisting of soldiers and sailors, was posted. At day-break the battery began to play on that of the enemy, and the fire was continued for some time on both sides, with little execution done on either. Besides the troops within the fort, a body of 60 European cavalry encamped without the walls. This cavalry, supported by infantry, advanced to the entrenchment where the sailors were posted, who struck with consternation at their appearance, took flight, and communicated their panic to the regular troops. The French cavalry pursued them to the battery, by the fire of which they were, however, soon repulsed. Major Lawrence commanded this day in the entrenchment, and rather than participate of the ignominy of taking flight with the troops, remained there with two or three officers: he was disarmed, and obliged to surrender himself prisoner to a French trooper, who knowing, it is probable, the value of his prize, immediately hurried him away by the side of his horse to Ariancopang.

The same day a large quantity of gunpowder taking fire in the enemy's battery, blew it up, and near 100 men were either killed or disabled by the explosion. This disaster struck such a terror amongst those who remained in the fort, that some hours after they set fire to the chambers with which they had undermined the fortifications, and blew up the greatest part of the walls and cavaliers, and then marched away with great precipitation to Pondicherry: as soon as the English

lish saw the explosion, they marched up and took possession of the ruins. Thus fortunately delivered, the army did not immediately proceed to Pondicherry, but remained five days longer at Ariancopang, employed in repairing the fort, in which it was determined to leave a garrison ; for it was apprehended, that during the siege a detachment of the enemy's troops might again take possession of it, and from hence be enabled to intercept convoys, or harrass the army. 1748

The town of Pondicherry was situated about 70 yards from the sea-shore : its extent within the walls was a little more than a mile from north to south, and about 1,100 yards from east to west : it was fortified on the three sides to the land with a wall and rampart, flanked by eleven bastions ; and two half-bastions were at the north and south extremities nearest the sea : these works were surrounded by a ditch, and an imperfect glacis. The eastern side was defended by several low batteries, capable of mounting 100 pieces of cannon, which commanded the road ; and within the town was built a citadel, too small to make a long defence. The greatest part of the ground lying round the town was inclosed, at a distance of a mile from the walls, by a hedge of large aloes and other thorny plants peculiar to the country, intermixed with great numbers of coco-nut and palm-trees, which altogether formed a defence impenetrable to cavalry, and of very difficult passage to infantry : this inclosure began at the north, close by the sea-shore, and continued five miles and a half, describing a large segment of a semi-circle, until it joined the river of Ariancopang to the south, at about a mile and a half from the sea-shore, and in this part the course of the river served to compleat the line of defence. There were five roads leading from the town into the adjacent country, and at each of the openings in the hedge was built a redoubt mounted with cannon. It is probable that the hedge, at the same time that it was intended to be a defence against sudden incursions, marked the limits of the territory conceded by the prince of the country to the French, when they first established themselves at Pondicherry ; and hence obtained the name of the Bound-hedge.

On the 26th of August the army marched from Ariancopang, and took possession of the village of Oulgary, lying about two miles from the

1748 the south-west part of the town. From hence a detachment was sent the same day to attack the north-west redoubt of the bound-hedge, which the enemy abandoned without resistance, notwithstanding it was capable of making a defence that would have cost the English many lives, had they been obliged to storm it. The garrisons in all the other redoubts were soon after withdrawn.

By the advice of the engineers, it was determined to attack the town on the north-west side ; and, to facilitate the communication between the fleet and the camp, the ships were stationed to the North of the town.

On the 30th of August at night the army opened ground, at the distance of 1,500 yards from the walls : by this the engineers shewed themselves little skilled in their art ; for it is the general practice in sieges, to make the first parallel within 800 yards of the covered way. In the morning a detachment of 150 men, from the trench first thrown up, were ordered to lodge themselves about 100 yards nearer the town, and being supplied with working tools, soon covered themselves from the fire of the enemy's cannon. About noon 500 Europeans and 700 Sepoys sallied from the town under the command of Paradis, and attacked both trenches at the same time : they were repulsed at both, and lost 100 men, and seven officers ; amongst the latter their commander Paradis. Ensign Clive distinguished himself with much gallantry in the defence of the advanced trench ; of which we do not repeat the description published in our first edition of this work, because we are informed, that that description is very erroneous.

The approaches were continued, but carried on very slowly, from a want of experience in such operations. Two batteries of three guns were raised within 1,200 yards of the town, to check any future sallies. When the army first opened ground, the bomb-ketch was ordered to bombard the citadel night and day : but in a very few days the enemy began to bombard her, and got her distance so exactly, that one of their shells staved the boat astern, and another threw the water in upon her decks ; after which she kept out of the reach of the enemy's mortars in the day-time, and only bombarded in the night. Parties sallied at several times, and attacked the detachments which escorted the stores and cannon from the ships to the camp ; and

and one day a detachment escorting two pieces of battering cannon 1748
was defeated, and the cannon taken. Some troops were sent immediately to recover them; but could not come up before the enemy had conveyed them under shelter of the ramparts.

After much hard labour the trenches were advanced within 800 yards of the walls, when it was found impossible to carry them on any nearer; for a large morass extended itself before this part of the town, and the French had preserved a back water, with which they overflowed not only the morass, but likewise all the ground lying between the trenches and the foot of the glacis. During the approaches, and the construction of the batteries on the edge of the morass, the enemy kept up a constant fire on the working parties, by which many were killed.

Two batteries were finished and began to fire on the 26th of September, one of eight, the other of four pieces of cannon, of 18 and 24 pounders: a bomb-battery of five large mortars and fifteen royals, and another of fifteen cohorns were likewise erected. The French now opened several embrasures in the curtain, and began likewise to fire from two or three batteries on the crest of the glacis, insomuch that the fire of the besieged was double that of the besiegers. Mr. Boscawen, willing to employ all the means of annoyance in his power, ordered the ships to batter the town; and before the next morning all the ships of two tiers had warped within the distance of 1,000 yards of the walls, the shallowness of water not permitting them to approach nearer: the cannonading was incessant, and terrible in appearance, but of no real effect; for the distance of the ships, and the motion of the sea, hindered the shot from striking successively the same object. The French at first withdrew a great number of their artillery-men from the land side, and employed them in firing against the ships from the batteries which commanded the road; but perceiving the little damage that the town sustained from the fire of the ships, they slackened their defence on that side, and renewed it to the land side with as much vigour as before.

The cannonading from the ships continued until night, when Mr. Boscawen, finding that they had expended a vast quantity of ammunition to no purpose, ordered them to move in the night out of the reach of cannon-shot; but the wind setting in from the sea prevented them

1748 them from executing this intention : remaining therefore in the same stations, they began early in the morning to cannonade the town again, from whence they were fired upon with more vivacity than the day before ; but at noon the wind changing, the ships moved farther from the shore, and the firing ceased on both sides. Only two persons were killed on board the fleet, the one a common sailor, the other captain Adams, commander of the Harwich, a 50 gun ship. The French gave out that the fire from the ships had, in the two days, done no other execution than that of killing a poor old Malabar woman in the street.

The fire from the batteries continued three days longer, during which that from the town increased, and dismounted nine pieces of cannon. Very little impression had been made on the defences, sickness prevailed in the camp, the weather likewise had changed, and the rainy monsoon was begun three weeks earlier than it usually sets in : a council of war was therefore summoned on the 30th of September, who, apprehensive that the rains, which at, or soon after, their first setting in generally overflow the whole country, might render the removal of the cannon and heavy stores impracticable, and fearing likewise that the ships might be driven off the coast by hard gales of wind, unanimously determined to raise the siege without delay.

Five days were employed in shipping the cannon and heavy stores, destroying the batteries, and reimbarking the sailors ; and on the 6th of October the troops began to march to Fort St. David ; but halted at Ariancopang, and blew up the fort ; the rains had already rendered the roads very difficult to be passed. On a review of the army, it was found, that during the siege there had perished in action and by sickness 757 soldiers, 43 artillery-men, and 265 seamen ; in all 1,065 Europeans : very few of the Sepoys were killed, for they had been only employed to guard the skirts of the camp, and had always ran away on the approach of danger. The French garrison consisted of 1,800 Europeans, and 3,000 Sepoys, of which they lost 200 Europeans, and about 50 Sepoys.

Several causes concurred to frustrate this attempt against Pondichery ; of which the late arrival of the armament on the coast, and the early setting in of the rains, were the principal. There was no absolute

necessity

necessity to reduce the fort of Ariancopang, for a party of 200 men 1748 stationed near it would have always kept in awe the garrison, which consisted only of 100 : now the reduction of this little fort, besides causing the loss of 150 men, together with two of the most experienced officers, and thereby discouraging the rest, stopt the progress of the whole army eighteen days. When arrived before the town, Mr. Boscawen, unexperienced in military operations by land, relied, in obedience to his instructions, on the opinion of the engineers, who made a great blunder in carrying on the attacks against that part of the town, to which an insuperable morass prevented them from approaching nearer than 800 yards : and even had there been no morass, the situation of the camp to the westward would have been injudiciously chosen, since it subjected the transporting of the cannon and heavy stores to a difficult passage of two or three miles, which employed the labour of numbers of sailors, and demanded frequent detachments of soldiers to escort and defend them from the sallies of the enemy ; and the soldiers and sailors thus employed were taken off from the operations of the siege, which required nothing less than the service of every European in the camp. The north-side was the part against which the attack ought to have been directed : for the ground in front of this side was sound, and would have permitted the approaches to have been carried on to the foot of the glacis, without meeting with any natural impediments ; and the camp extending behind the lines to the northward, would have effectually protected the cannon and stores, when landed, from the danger of sallies ; and at the same time have saved the labour and inconveniencies of transporting them from a long distance ; for they might have been landed at the camp itself. Very few examples of gallant service were exhibited during the siege. The engineers were utterly unqualified for the enterprize, but the artillery-men and officers knew their business, and always behaved with resolution ; and Mr. Boscawen himself on all occasions exerted the same activity and courage which distinguished his character as a naval officer ; but these qualities did not compensate his want of knowledge in the art of war on shore. This knowledge is not incompatible with skill in the marine service ; and it is much to be lamented, that both together have not of late years been culti-

1748 vated by the same officer; for there are very few instances, of late years, of a siege carried on by the English with less skill than this of Pondicherry.

The French sang Te Deums, as soon as the siege was raised, and gave as many demonstrations of joy, as if they had been relieved from the greatest calamities of war. Mr. Dupleix sent letters to all the princes of Coromandel, and even to the Great Mogul himself, acquainting them, that he had repulsed the most formidable attack which had ever been made in India; and he received from them the highest compliments on his own prowess, and on the military character of his nation: This indeed was now regarded throughout Indostan as greatly superior to that of the English.

END *of the* FIRST BOOK.

BOOK II.

THE squadron, soon after the raising of the siege of Pondicherry, left the coast to avoid the stormy monsoon: five ships went to Achin, and the rest to Trinconomalee; but Mr. Boscawen himself remained with the land-forces at Fort St. David. In November news arrived, that a cessation of arms between Great Britain and France had been proclaimed in the preceding April: but Mr. Boscawen was, notwithstanding, instructed to remain in India until he should receive intelligence that the general peace was concluded. In the beginning of January 1749, the squadron returned to Fort St. 1749
David, and about the same time Mr. Bouvet, with the same squadron which had eluded Mr. Griffin, came again from Mauritius to Madrass, where he landed a large sum of money, together with 200 soldiers.

The sword was sheathed, and it depended on the agents of the two companies to re-assume in tranquillity their mercantile occupations: but the war had brought to Pondicherry and Fort St. David a number of troops greatly superior to any which either of the two nations had hitherto assembled in India; and as if it were impossible that a military force, which feels itself capable of enterprizes, should refrain from attempting them, the two settlements, no longer authorized to fight against each other, took the resolution of employing their arms in the contests of the princes of the country: the English with great indiscretion, the French with the utmost ambition.

An unfortunate prince, who about seven years before had been dethroned at Tanjore, came to Fort St. David, and implored the assistance of the English to reinstate him, asserting with great confidence that he should no sooner appear in the kingdom, supported even by a moderate force, than his standard would be joined by numbers, and his title acknowledged by thousands. The succession of the

1749 princes of his family had been so complicated, that it was difficult to ascertain to whom the crown rightfully belonged.

In the year 1680, the king of Tanjore, attacked and well-nigh overpowered by the king of Tritchinopoly, called the Morattoes to his assistance. The famous Sevagee, who at that time reigned over all the Morattoe nations, sent his brother with a strong army, which soon left the king of Tanjore nothing to fear from his enemy, but every thing from these free booters; for they made out so large an account of expences, that all the riches in the kingdom would have been insufficient to discharge what they demanded: under pretence therefore of collecting this money, they took possession of the government, and shortly after the brother of Sevagee declared himself king of Tanjore. He reigned six years, and left three sons. The eldest, Sevagee, was succeeded by the next brother, Serbogee, and he by the third, Tuccogee. Each of the three brothers left children; and after three irregular successions which took place amongst these cousin-germans in less than seven years, Saujohee, who now appeared at Fort St. David, was deposed, and his brother Pratop-sing, born of one of the inferior wives of their father Serbogee, was placed on the throne, by the general concurrence of the principal men in the kingdom, which had suffered much from the weak administration of Saujohee. The English had certainly no right to interfere in cause. But the offers he made of concessions to the company in the kingdom of Tanjore, the favourable account given of him by the interpreters who introduced him to the presidency, and the belief too hastily entertained of a false narration of his misfortune, induced the English to think they should acquire as much honour as advantage by their efforts to reinstate him in the throne. It was stipulated that Saujohee should give the company the fort and territory of Devi-Cotah, and pay all the expences of the war, if it proved successful.

The kingdom of Tanjore extends about 70 miles from north to south, and about 60 from east to west. The river Coleroon bounds it to the north; the sea-coast, running nearly north and south, to the east: to the south it is bounded partly by the sea-coast extending east and west, and partly by the country of Morawar: to the west it

it is limited by the kingdom of Tritchinopoly and the country of Ton- 1749
diman : the capital, bearing the same name as the kingdom, lieth about 30 miles east of Tritchinopoly.

The force appointed for the conquest of Tanjore consisted of 430 Europeans, and 1,000 Sepoys, with four field pieces and four small mortars : the battering cannon and provision for the troops were sent in four ships, two of which were of the line. The army, accompanied by Saujohee, left Fort St. David in the latter end of March, and on the 13th of April encamped on the bank of the river Val-aru, which disembogues itself at Portonovo. In the evening the northern monsoon changed, and the southern commenced with a hurricane, which lasted with such violence until four o'clock the next morning, that the tents of the English camp were blown into rags, many of the draught bullocks and horses were killed, and all the military stores were so much damaged, that the army was obliged to march to Portonovo in order to repair the detriments it had sustained. Here they were informed that the storm had committed much greater ravages at sea : two of the company's ships were stranded between Cuddalore and Fort St. David : the Apollo hospital ship was lost, with all her crew : the Pembroke, a 60 gun ship, which sailed on the expedition, was wrecked, and only six of the crew saved : and the Namur of 74 guns, in which Admiral Boscawen hoisted his flag, and which was the finest ship of her size belonging to the navy of England, perished, with 750 men. Fortunately most of the other ships were either at Trinconomalee, or in parts of the coast to which the greatest violence of the hurricane did not extend.

The army having repaired its damages, left Portonovo, and marching by the great pagoda of Chilambaram, arrived at the bank of the northern arm of the Coleroon. Here Captain Cope, who commanded, encamped and intrenched, resolving to learn the state of affairs on the opposite shore before he proceeded any farther. The intelligence he received was very different from what he expected : no persons of any rank offered to declare for Saujohee, and not a single squadron appeared ready to join him : on the contrary, a great number of troops belonging to the king of Tanjore were seen moving up and down

the

1749 the opposite bank, and seemed determined to dispute the passage of the river. Thus disappointed, and ignorant of the enemy's strength as well as of the nature of the country, Captain Cope did not think his force sufficient to prosecute the enterprize, and waited until he was reinforced from Fort St. David with 100 Europeans and 500 Sepoys: he then crossed the river, which, although a mile broad, was fordable, and, contrary to his expectation, the army met with little resistance from the enemy whilst they were passing it; but difficulties increased as they advanced: the road in which they attempted to march led through a thick wood, and the enemy from behind the bushes began to annoy them with arrows, and the fire of their matchlocks; whilst large bodies of horse and foot appeared in the circumjacent plains, moving in the rear and on the flanks. This being the first expedition in which the English troops were engaged against the forces of an Indian prince, the soldiers were struck with no small degree of fear, on comparing the superior numbers of the enemy with their own; but the artillery-men preserved their resolution, and fired with so much spirit and aim, that they kept the enemy at a distance, and restored the courage of their own troops, who being ordered to march back, gained the bank of the river without confusion. Here the army drew up, the field-pieces securing the flanks, and the river the rear. A council of war was held to deliberate whether they should proceed, or wait for more favourable advices than those hitherto received out of the Tanjore country; but whilst the council were sitting, a messenger arrived with positive orders from Mr. Boscawen to continue the march, and attack the Fort of Devi-Cotah at all events. In the interval some of the soldiers had discovered a road leading along the bank of the river towards the sea-coast; and the army began to march this way, although very little of it had been reconnoitred: it led through a much more open country than the other, and the river defended the troops from being surrounded. This lucky discovery saved them from destruction; for it was afterwards found, that by persisting in the first road, they would, from the nature of the country, have been involved in inextricable difficulties, into which the Tanjorines had hoped to intice them, by making no resistance at the

passage

passage of the river. They still continued to move within random 1749
shot of the English; their squadrons sometimes threatening to attack, but always retiring as soon as the field-pieces began to fire. After a march of ten miles the troops halted, late in the evening, a mile to the eastward of Devi-Cotah: where they neither saw, nor received intelligence of the ships; for not a man of the country ventured near the army; and the lowness of the ground, together with the thick woods that covered it, prevented the ships from being discovered, although they were at anchor near the mouth of the river, within four miles of the camp.

The army, relying on the ships, had brought no more provision than were necessary for the consumption of three days, and were deterred, by the numbers of the enemy, from sending detachments to procure any; at the same time they were without battering cannon. Under these inconveniencies there appeared no means of reducing the fort, excepting by a sudden assault, and the walls were too high to be easily escaladed. Some proposed to advance the field-pieces in the night, and batter down the gates; which indeed was the only practicable method of attack; but being deemed too desperate, it was determined to endeavour to terrify the enemy by bombarding the place with cohorns. Shells were thrown until the morning, when the fire ceased until the next night: and before the next morning all the shells were expended, without having done any damage to the fort, or made any impression on the minds of the garrison. It was therefore resolved to retreat without delay.

The army returned by the same road it came. During the first mile the country was covered with woods, from which the enemy galled the flank of the line, not only with musquetry, but also with some pieces of heavy artillery, which they had brought into the thickets; and some platoons of Europeans were detached to dislodge them. The thickets extended to the bank of a rivulet which the troops had crossed in the march to Devi-Cotah, during the retreat of the tide: the rivulet was at that time fordable, and no one had examined it sufficiently to form an idea of the depth of the channel, which was now filled with water by the rising of the tide, and the stream

ran

1749 ran very rapidly. The Coolies, who carried the less bulky parts of the baggage, marched before the troops, and as soon as they came to the bank of the rivulet, were fired upon with great vivacity from the thickets. Timorous, as are all the lower casts of Indians, they plunged into the stream, which was seven or eight feet deep, and pressing upon one another with outcries and confusion, lost by their fears the strength necessary to save themselves, and in less than a quarter of an hour 400 of the poor wretches were drowned. The troops, spectators of this disaster, halted, and fired to dislodge the enemy, until the tide had ebbed sufficiently; when they passed the rivulet without interruption, and continuing their retreat unmolested, arrived at Chilambarum late at night, much fatigued with the skirmishes they had sustained, and with a march of 15 miles: the next day they returned to Fort St. David.

The intelligence gained during this expedition, convinced every one that the cause of Saujohee was destitute of abettors amongst his countrymen. The presidency nevertheless determined to continue the war; but this resolution did not now proceed so much from the intention of restoring Saujohee, as from the desire of wiping out, by some success, the reproach of having retreated before the arms of an Indian prince, and from the views of making some acquisitions to compensate the expences which had already been incurred. The Fort of Devi-Cotah is situated in a populous country, in which manufactures of linnen proper for the company's trade are fabricated; and the neighbouring territory is the most fertile part of the coast of Coromandel. On this coast, from Masulipatam to Cape Comorin, there is no port capable of receiving a ship of 300 tons burden; which defect subjects the navigation of these parts to great risques at particular seasons. The mouth of the river Coleroon, near Devi-Cotah, is indeed generally obstructed by sands, but the channel within the bar is deep enough to receive ships of the largest burden; and it was thought that the bar itself might with some labour and expence be removed: if this should be effected, the greatest advantages would accrue to the European nation which should obtain the exclusive possession of

of this harbour. It was therefore determined to make the reduction of Devi-Cotah the principal object of the new expedition, which it was thought would be amply compensated by gaining possession of this place, even if no farther advantages accrued from the war. 1749

The whole body of the company's troops, amounting with the artillery-men to 800 Europeans, together with 1,500 Sepoys, were ordered on the expedition, under the command of major Lawrence. From the difficulties already experienced in approaching Devi-Cotah by land, it was determined that the army should now proceed by sea: the Europeans, with the artillery and baggage, were embarked on board six ships, three of the line and three belonging to the company, and the Sepoys accompanied the ships in large boats, used by the people of Coromandel to carry on their traffick along the coast. The vessels arrived at the same mouth of the Coleroon where the ships of the former expedition had anchored; and the troops and stores passed in boats up the arm of the river which led to Devi-Cotah, and were landed on the opposite shore, from which it was determined to batter the fort, because the ground on the other side was marshy and covered with woods, and the king of Tanjore's army was encamped under the walls.

The fort was about a mile in circumference, having six unequal sides; and the walls were about 18 feet high, built with bricks, the masonry of which was in most parts broad enough to form a rampart, without any addition of earth: and were flanked at unequal distances by projecting towers, some of which were circular, and others square. The English fired across the river obliquely upon the eastern side of the fort from four 24 pounders, which in three days made a practicable breach. The enemy did not return the fire, nor attempt to repair the breach, but employed themselves in carrying on an entrenchment from the bank of the river across the side of the fort which the English attacked.

The passage of the troops over the river was rendered dangerous, both by the rapidity of the stream, and by the numbers who had taken possession of the thickets which covered the opposite shore. John Moor, a carpenter belonging to one of the men of war, offered his service, and made a stage capable of receiving 400 men, which was

1749 launched at some distance below the battery, and towed up to it against the stream. The raft could not be moved across the river unless by a rope fixed on the opposite bank; but the stations of the enemy rendered this a very hazardous enterprize: the same carpenter who had made the raft, offered to execute this service likewise, and in the middle of a very dark night swam over the river, carrying the end of a rope with him, which he fastened to the root of a large tree within a few yards of one o the enemy's advanced guards, by whom he was not discovered.

The rope was sunk in the water, that the enemy might not perceive it; and the next day, at two in the afternoon, the first detachment of 400 Europeans, with three field pieces, embarked upon the raft; at the same time the four pieces of battering cannon, with six field pieces, began to fire with great vivacity upon the opposite thickets, to deter the Tanjorines from approaching the bank near enough to discover the rope. They were so much surprized at this new and unexpected manner of approach, that, fortunately, none of them guessed the means by which it was performed. The walls and towers of the fort were manned with multitudes, who, as well as those under cover of the thickets, fired irregularly, but without intermission, from their matchlocks; but the detachment, although much galled, refrained from returning the fire, lest the bustle of handling their arms should overset the raft, which in a quarter of an hour gained the shore. The troops advanced immediately to dislodge the Tanjorines posted in the thickets, who retreated as soon as they were fired upon, and took shelter either within the fort, or behind the projections of the towers. The raft was sent back, and in the space of two hours made several passages, during which the enemy kept up a continual fire, both on the troops that were landed, and on those on the raft, and killed 30 Europeans and 50 Sepoys before the whole army had passed the river.

Major Lawrence determined to storm the breach without delay. The entrenchment which the Tanjorines intended to throw up before it, was left unfinished; for the Coolies quitted the work as soon as it was advanced so far as to place them in the line of the shot battering the walls. The part which was finished was nevertheless of some service, for it commanded the ground over which the English troops were obliged to march to the attack, and likewise flanked the breach itself

itself. About fifty yards in front of the entrenchment ran a deep and miry rivulet, which extended quite across the island on which Devi-Cotah is situated. 1749

Lieutenant Clive offered his service to major Lawrence to lead the attack ; and the major, who had remarked the rising military genius of this officer, very readily gave him the post of honour he requested. A platoon of 34 Europeans, with 700 Sepoys, were appointed for this service, who were to be supported by the whole army as soon as the entrenchment should be carried. The Europeans, marching at the head of the Sepoys, crossed the rivulet with difficulty, and four of them were killed by the fire from the fort before they gained the opposite bank. As soon as part of the Sepoys had passed likewise, lieutenant Clive advanced briskly with the Europeans, intending to attack the entrenchment in flank at that end where the Coolies had discontinued the work. The Sepoys who had passed the rivulet, instead of following closely, as they were ordered, remained at the bank, waiting until they were joined by greater numbers. The enemy perceived this neglect, which left the rear of the Europeans exposed : a number of horse were concealed along the south side of the fort, between the projections of the towers ; the nearest of which was not more than forty yards from that part of the entrenchment which lieutenant Clive was preparing to attack. Just as his men were presenting their muskets to fire, a party of horse rushed sword in hand from behind the tower, and by a rapid evolution, which manifested the excellence both of the horses and the riders, fell on the rear of the platoon with so much inpetuosity, that the men had no time to face about and defend themselves, and in an instant 26 of the platoon were cut to pieces. A horseman had his sword uplifted to strike at lieutenant Clive, who escaped the blow by stepping on one side whilst the horse passed him ; he then ran towards the Sepoys, whom he had the good fortune to join, being one of four who were all that escaped from this slaughter. He found the Sepoys drawn up in order, but they had not advanced a step to support the platoon. The Tanjorine horse, satisfied with their success, did not prosecute their advantage by attacking the Sepoys, but returned to the stations from whence they had made the onset.

1749 Major Lawrence, on this disaster, determined to attack the trench with all the Europeans, who now crossed the rivulet, and advanced in a compact body, with a platoon of grenadiers at their head. The enemy kept up an irregular fire until the grenadiers came to the trench, and then they took flight along the southern side of the fort: The English troops immediately moved up to the breach, when the Tanjorine horse sallied again from behind the tower; and were suffered to approach within fourteen yards before the first platoon gave its fire, which was so well directed that it struck down fourteen horsemen: this execution flung the rest into such confusion that they immediately fled back, and the troops mounting the breach, found it abandoned by the garrison, whom they discovered hurrying from all quarters of the fort to make their escape out of the opposite gateway: at the same time all the Tanjorine horse quitted their stations near the fort, and retreated to the westward.

Some of the officers examining the different buildings of the fort, found in one of the chambers a Tanjorine lying on the ground desperately wounded, whom, incapable of moving without assistance, the garrison in their precipitate flight had neglected to carry off, altho' he was an officer of rank, and an Indian of a very high cast. He was taken care of, but with a sullen obstinacy refused every kind of assistance, and would not submit to the necessary operations, until he found that the surgeon intended to use force. He was no sooner left alone than he stripped off the bandages, and attempted to put an end to his life, by tearing open his wounds: some persons were therefore appointed to watch him continually, and he was removed into a thatched hut in a distant part of the fort, that his rest might not be disturbed. Finding himself constantly watched, he behaved for three days with so much composure, that they, to whose care he was entrusted, thought he was reconciled to life, and relaxing their attention, left him in the night, as they imagined asleep; but they were no sooner got to some distance, than the Tanjorine crept to the corner of the hut, where a lamp was burning, and with it set fire to the thatch, which, in that dry season of the year, caught the blaze so fiercely, that he was suffocated before it could be extinguished. This Indian fell a martyr

martyr to his ideas of the impurity he had contracted by suffering 1749
Europeans to administer to his wants.

The troops were employed for a few days in repairing the breach, and in other works necessary to put the fort in a good state of defence; after which major Lawrence detached a party of 100 Europeans, with 300 Sepoys, to take possession of the pagoda of Atchaveram, lying five miles to the south-west of Devi-Cotah. All the pagodas on the Coast of Coromandel are built on the same general plan: a large area, which is commonly a square, is inclosed by a wall of 15 or 20 feet high, and in the middle of the area are the temples, which, as if it was intended that they should be concealed from public view, are never raised above the height of the surrounding wall. In the middle of one or more of the sides of this wall is a gateway, over which is built a high tower, not designed as a defence to the pagoda, but as an historical monument of the gods to whom it is dedicated; for the four faces of the tower are crouded with sculptures, representing the attributes and adventures of these divinities. The pagoda of Atchaveram is a square of which each of the sides extends about 300 yards: it was surrendered to the English detachment on the first summons by the Bramins, who intreated them not to enter the more sacred places: but the Tanjorine army no sooner heard that the English had got possession of it, than their horror of the pollutions to which their temple was exposed, inspired them with a resolution, which neither their attachment to their prince, nor their notions of military honour, would have produced. A party of 5,000 men marched from the camp, and as soon as it was night attacked the pagoda; some with ladders attempting to mount the walls, whilst others endeavoured to burn down the gate, by piling up against it large bundles of straw mixed with other combustible matters. The English, knowing they should all be put to the sword, if the Tanjorines retook the place, defended themselves vigorously: some were employed in oversetting the ladders, whilst others fired upon those who attempted to mount them. The guard who defended the gate opened the wicket, firing through it and pushing down the bundles of straw with their halberts: the enemy still persisted to bring more straw, and continued their attacks until break of day, when they retreated, having

lost

1749 lost near 300 men: only five or six of the defenders were killed. The next day major Lawrence marched with the greatest part of the army to captain Cope's assistance, and the Tanjorines made no farther attempts.

By this time admiral Boscawen and the government of Fort St. David had sufficient reason to believe, that any future undertaking against the kingdom of Tanjore would be attended with great difficulties. At the same time the king made proposals of accommodation. The English stipulated that the fort of Devi-Cotah, with as much land adjoining to it as would produce the annual income of 9,000 pagodas, should be ceded to the East India company for ever: that the king of Tanjore should reimburse the expences of the war; and that he should allow Saujohee a pension of 4,000 rupees; they obliging themselves to be answerable for his person, as likewise that he should never give any more disturbance to the kingdom. The king of Tanjore acceded without hesitation to these conditions; but his compliance did not proceed so much from his dread of the English arms, as from his sense of the danger with which his kingdom was threatened, in consequence of events which happened a few days before in the Carnatic, and which had struck the whole coast of Coromandel with consternation.

Chunda-saheb, made prisoner by the Morattoes, when they took the city of Tritchinopoly in 1741, was esteemed by them a prize of so much importance, that they not only kept him under the strictest confinement, but rejected all the offers he made for his ransom, as much inferior to what they imagined his wealth enabled him to pay. The richest prince in Indostan never hesitates to plead poverty whenever money is to be paid; and Chunda-saheb, either unable or unwilling to satisfy their exorbitant demands, remained in his confinement, corresponding for six years with his friends in different provinces, and suggesting to them the means of inducing the Morattoes to set him at liberty for a moderate sum.

The chiefs who were related to the former succession of Nabobs, which ended by the assassination of the young Seid Mahomed, retained their aversion to the reign of An'war-odean Khan; but they saw no one amongst themselves in the Carnatic endowed with sufficient

cient power and reputation to attempt the recovery of the government into their own family. There existed indeed at Vandiwash a brother of Seid Mahomed, born after the death of their father, the Nabob Subder-ally; but the infancy of this prince rendered him unfit to appear at the head of a confederacy: And altho' Mortiz-ally, the governor of Velore, was a near relation to the former Nabobs, and possessed a large domain with great treasures, yet he wanted intrepidity sufficient to head a dangerous enterprize, and the knowledge of his treacherous disposition destroyed all confidence in the engagements he might enter into. Of the rest, none had great reputation as generals, nor great power as princes; but, collected under a proper head, their strength might become formidable. 1749

Chunda-saheb had made his way to the highest offices of the government by the services of his sword, and was esteemed the ablest soldier that had of late years appeared in the Carnatic. His contempt of the sordid means by which most of the Indian princes amass treasures, had gained him the affections of the whole province; and an excellent understanding contributed to make his character universally revered. The rest of the chiefs therefore concurred in regarding him as the fittest person to enter into competition with An'war-odean Khan for the Nabobship; but this testimony of their deference for some time only served to rivet his fetters more strongly; for the Morattoes increased their demands in proportion as they found the character of their prisoner rising in importance.

The wife and son of Chunda-saheb had remained at Pondicherry from the time that he was carried away by the Morattoes; and the year after that event Mr. Dupleix arrived there, appointed governor-general of the French nation in India. He treated the family of Chunda-saheb, under his protection, with great respect; and by a frequent intercourse with the wife, very soon learnt the state of her husband's affairs, and the dispositions of his relations in the province. His sagacity distinguished, in these latent principles of future convulsions, a possibility of aggrandizing his nation in India, where many causes concurred to prevent their establishments from becoming so eminently advantageous as he was ambitious of rendering them.

The English, established in Indostan many years before the French had

1749 had made any settlements in the country, had confirmed in the natives a prepossession in their favour, by the punctuality of their dealings, the goodness of the commodities they imported, and, above all, by the great extent of their trade; and this superiority perpetually interrupted the progress of the French commerce. At the same time the affairs of all the European colonies were controuled by the Mogul government almost as much as those of the natives themselves, who are subject to the most despotic sway; for their trade was liable to the interruption of every great and petty officer through whose district or department it passed; and in Bengal, where Mr. Dupleix had resided for a long time, there scarcely passed a year in which the Nabob did not extort large sums of money from each of the European settlements: garrisons were maintained, and other military expences incurred, which greatly diminished the profits of the trade; but such was the high opinion of the military strength of the Indian governments, that the European troops were never employed in opposition to the will of the prince of the country. At the same time all the manufactures of India proper for the markets of Europe had, from a long succession of importations of silver, risen so much in price, and diminished so much in the goodness of the fabrick, that they afforded much less profit than in former times. The concurrence of these disadvantages convinced Mr. Dupleix that the trade of Indostan was no longer worth the attention of France, nor indeed of any other nation in Europe. But discovering the unmilitary character of the natives, and the perpetual dissentions of their rulers, he was led to imagine, that by joining some of these competitors he might gain by conquest more advantages than any other European nation had hitherto derived from commerce. He therefore determined to prosecute this plan, by giving assistance to Chunda-saheb.

These ideas probably dictated those impediments which he flung in the way of Mr. De la Bourdonnais's operations, to prevent him from employing his troops, after the capture of Madrass, in other parts of India; for at that time Mr. Dupleix held a constant correspondence with Chunda-saheb in his imprisonment, and they were then concerting the means of accomplishing their mutual interests. The measure necessary to be first carried into execution, was the release of Chunda-saheb; and, Mr. Dupleix guaranteeing the engagement, the Morattoes were at last

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satisfied with 700,000 rupees, and consented to furnish him with 3,000 1749
of their own troops.

With this force, and the spirit of an adventurer, he left Sattarah in the beginning of the year 1748, intending to make conquests wherever opportunity presented itself, until he should acquire, by contributions, the treasures necessary to maintain an army sufficient to attack the province of Arcot. He arrived, during the siege of Pondicherry, on the western confines of the Carnatic, and found two Rajahs at war: he sided with one of them, who, betrayed by some of his officers, was totally defeated in a general battle, in which it is said that Chunda-saheb himself was taken prisoner, but that he was immediately released on producing a declaration from the king of the Morattoes, which enjoined all princes whomsoever to respect his person, on pain of incurring the resentment of the whole Morattoe nation. The greatest part of Chunda-saheb's troops, were dispersed after this defeat, and he was left with only 300 men, when he received an invitation from the Rajah of Chitterdourg, to come to his assistance, and take the command of his army against the Rajah of Bedrour. The territories of these two princes lie near the eastern confines of the country of Canara, which extends along the coast of Malabar between the rivers Alega and Cangrecora. Disasters could not depress the spirit of Chunda-saheb; he marched away, with the handful of men he commanded, and arrived just as the two armies were ready to engage. In this battle his courage and skill were so well seconded by the troops of Chitterdourg, that he obtained a compleat victory: three thousand of the enemy's horse, after the defeat, offered their service to him, whom he took into his pay, and likewise 2,500 of the troops of his ally: so that he was now at the head of 6,000 men: but this force being still insufficient to attempt the conquest of the Carnatic, he found resources in the consequences of other events, which had lately happened at Delhi, and in the government of the soubahship of the southern provinces.

The Great Mogul Mahomed Schah, who had suffered in 1739 the humiliation of laying his crown at the feet of Thamas Kouli Kan, by whom he was again reinstated in the monarchy of Indostan, continued to govern the empire with so trembling a hand, that the principal officers of his court acted in their several departments without controul:

1749 but the vizier Kimmir-ul-dien, who had held this office ever since the accession of Mahomed, continued inviolably attached to his sovereign. None of the subsequent events of the government of Delhi affect immediately the present object of our narrative, until the year 1748; when an army of Afghans from Candahar, invaded the northern provinces under the command of Ahmed the *Abdalli*, so called from his tribe. This man was treasurer to Nadir Schah, when assassinated on the 8th of June 1747, in Persia; on which event, he went off with all the treasure under his care, and in less than six months established himself in the sovereignty of all the provinces of Indostan ceded to the Persians in 1739, and of as large a territory on the other side of the mountains. Ahmed Schah, the eldest son of Mahomed, with the vizier, marched against the Abdalli; various encounters ensued with various success, and during a cannonade the vizier was slain by a straggling cannon ball, whilst at prayers in his tent. His death afflicted the emperor so violently, that after passing the night in lamentations, he expired the next day sitting on his throne, in a fit brought on by the agony of his grief. The prince Ahmed, leaving the command of the army to Munnu the son of the deceased vizier, immediately returned from the army to Delhi, and was acknowledged emperor without opposition, in the month of April 1748.

The death of Mahomed Schah was in a few months succeeded by another of greater consequence to Indostan: it was that of Nizam-al-muluck, Soubah of the Decan, who, notwithstanding his whole life had passed in the utmost intrigues, anxieties, and iniquities of oriental ambition, arrived to the uncommon age of 104 years.

He left five sons; the eldest, Ghazi-o'-dean, inherited all the ambition and wickedness of his father, with a more enterprizing and intrepid spirit. Nizam-al-muluck, when returning to the Decan, after the retreat of Nadir Schah, had obliged the weak Mahomed to confer the offices of paymaster and captain-general of the army on this son; in which posts he continued at the court, employing his power, as his father before him, against the authority of his sovereign, and soon became the patron of all the turbulent or disaffected omrahs in the empire. On the death of his father, he obtained the succession to the soubahship of the Decan from the emperor Ahmed Schah: but was too much engaged in other affairs at Delhi to proceed to this government.

ment. The second son Nazir-jing had once fled from his father's 1749
court, and appeared in arms against him. The father took the field; and when the two armies were near each other, confined himself to his tent so strictly, that by first making his own army believe he was reduced to the point of death by sickness, the report was likewise believed in the camp of Nazir-jing, and by Nazir-jing himself, to whom messengers were continually sent with pathetic invitations from his father, desiring to embrace him before he died. The stratagem was so well conducted, that Nazir-jing at last determined to pay the visit, and no sooner entered Nizam-al-muluck's tent, than he was arrested, and put into fetters, and accompanied his father under this restraint during several months, until Nizam-al-muluck being persuaded of his contrition, accepted of his submissions, and set him at liberty; after which he was not guilty of any disobedience. The other three sons had not distinguished themselves either for good or evil, but had always remained constant attendants at their father's court.

The great men in Indostan bear great affection to their children during their infancy; but as soon as these arrive at the age of emancipation, the perpetual intrigues of an Indian court render them, from being a consolation to their parents, the objects of their mistrust: for there are never wanting those who endeavour to engage them in parties, and even in plots: from hence it often happens, that a prince, in his latter days, lives without affection to his own sons, and gives every kind of paternal preference to his grandchildren; and this recurs so frequently to observation, that one of the oriental poets has said, "that the parents have, during the life of their sons such overweening affection for their grandchildren, because they see in them the enemies of their enemies." Amongst the grandsons of Nizam-al-muluck was one born of his favourite daughter. This young man, called Hidayet mohy-o-dean, he had always kept near his person, and cherished with great affection, insomuch that, immediately after his death, a report prevailed, that he had in his will not only appointed this grandson to inherit the greatest part of his treasures, but had likewise nominated him to succeed in the government of the southern provinces. It is very difficult to ascertain the authenticity of any of the written acts ascribed to the princes of Indostan, for using a seal as

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1749 their signature, the impression is easily counterfeited; and this, as well as other methods of forgery, are commonly practised without scruple, whenever it is thought expedient to have recourse to them: so that we cannot determine whether the report of the bequest made by Nizam-al-muluck to his grandson was well grounded, or without foundation: it is certain, that it was generally believed. As a feudatory to the Mogul empire, Nizam-al-muluck had no right to bequeath even his treasures, much less his sovereignty.

Nazir-jing had for some time commanded his father's army, and availed himself of the power derived from his offices to oppose the pretensions of his nephew Hidayet mohy-o-dean. He began by seizing Nizam-al-muluck's treasures, and with them prepared to keep possession of the sovereignty: he pretended, that his father had named his eldest son Ghazi-o'-din Khan to be his heir: and that Ghazi-o'-din Khan preferring the employment he held at the court of Delhi, had ceded to him the soubahship of the southern provinces: and that this sovereignty was confirmed to him from the throne.

Amongst other instances of the contempt with which the majesty of the emperor has been treated, the governors of provinces have of late years not only counterfeited without hesitation, letters, orders, and patents, from the court, but have even hired men to act the part of officers invested by the Great Mogul with the power of conferring with them on the affairs of their government. These mock delegates are received with great pomp in the capital: the vice-roy or Nabob humbles himself before the pretended representative, who delivers in public his credentials, and the fictitious orders he has been instructed to enforce. These measures are practised to appease the minds of the people, who still retain so much reverence to the blood of Tamerlane, that a vice-roy always thinks it necessary to create an opinion amongst them that he is a favourite with the emperor, even when he is in arms against his authority. Both Nazir-jing and Hidayet mohy-o-dean exhibited patents from the Mogul, and produced delegates from Delhi. Hidayet mohy-o-dean gave out that the emperor, on appointing him to succeed to his grandfather's estates, had dignified him with the name of Murzafa-jing, or The Invincible; by which he was afterwards distinguished

tinguished. But the wealth of which Nazir-jing had taken possession 1749
enabled him to keep his father's army in pay; and this was so numerous, that the forces which Murzafa-jing had collected were not sufficient to oppose him with any probability of success. This prince therefore kept the field in the countries west of Gol-condah, with an army of 25,000 men, waiting for some lucky event that might enable him to attack his uncle with more advantage.

Chunda-saheb, soon after his success at Chitterdourg, heard of the situation of Murzafa-jing's affairs, and regarding him as a prince, who, like himself, from the similarity of their fortunes, was obliged to try the chance of bold and desperate enterprizes, he determined to join, and offer him the service of his sword: his military reputation caused him to be received with open arms, and the troops which he brought with him were taken into Murzafa-jing's pay. Chunda-saheb highly acknowledged his right to the soubahship of the southern provinces, and soon gained his confidence by the zeal he expressed for his cause: he then explained his own pretensions to the government of the Carnatic, and easily prevailed on his new lord to confirm his titles by letters patent, appointing him to the Nabobship of Arcot; but the obtaining of this favour was not the only proof of the great ascendance which he had acquired over the young prince's mind. He represented that the countries near Gol-condah were too much awed by the terror of Nazir-jing's army to declare in Murzafa-jing's favour, until he could collect a much greater force than that which accompanied him at present; and that the same dread would be a perpetual obstacle to the augmentation of his army in the countries where he now kept the field; but that his force was fully sufficient for the conquest of the Carnatic against his own rival An'war-odean Khan; that this conquest, by putting them in possession of the extensive territories which lie between Arcot and Cape Comorin, would furnish such resources both of men and money, as might enable him to return and attack Nazir-jing with equal force. Chunda-saheb then offered himself as the companion and conductor of Murzafa-jing, until this hardy enterprize should be accomplished, or, if fortune frowned, until they should both perish in the attempt. The romantic cast of this project could not fail of making the strongest impression on the mind

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1749 of a young prince naturally brave, and ambitious of acquiring a sovereignty. Murzafa-jing now looked upon Chunda-saheb as his guardian angel, and agreed implicitly to follow all his views.

Mr. Dupleix very soon received intelligence of these resolutions, and was invited to take part in the project, with assurances of receiving considerable advantages for himself and the French East India company, if it succeeded. Nothing could be more conformable to his views than such an opportunity of aggrandizing at once his own reputation and the interests of his nation in India. As soon as he heard that Murzafa-jing's army approached the confines of the Carnatic, he ordered 400 Europeans and 2,000 Sepoys to march and join them. This body was commanded by Mr. d'Auteuil, and accompanied by Raja-saheb, the son of Chunda-saheb, who had resided at Pondicherry during the whole time of his father's imprisonment.

An'war-odean, the Nabob of Arcot, from his accession after the murder of Seid Mahomed, had governed the Carnatic without receiving any disturbance from intestine commotions, and very little from foreign hostilities ; for all the military operations of his reign had consisted in the reduction of certain Polygars, who, from territories confining on the Carnatic, had made some predatory incursions into the province. But his attention had been constantly fixed on the person of Chunda-saheb : he kept emissaries at Sattarah, to observe him during his confinement, which it is probable he protracted by bribing the Morattoes. As soon as Chunda-saheb was set at liberty, the Nabob never doubted, how much soever he dissembled, that the time approached when he should be obliged to maintain his government by his sword. He reformed his army, which, like those of most Indian princes in times of peace, was composed of an undisciplined rabble ; and enlisted none but the best men and horses, of which he composed a well-appointed army, consisting of 12,000 cavalry and 8,000 infantry, and with this force determined to defend the entrance of the Carnatic to extremity : but another measure equally necessary to his preservation he omitted ; for he neglected, probably from the parsimony of his disposition, to ask from the English the assistance of a body of their troops : and the English, employed

ployed in supporting a much less important cause, were equally blind to their real interest, in neglecting to join the Nabob of their own accord, as soon as they found the French determined to support his rival. 1749

Chunda-saheb and Murzafa-jing approached, levying contributions in the countries thro' which they passed, in virtue of the quality of Soubah, assumed by Murzafa-jing. In their progress they likewise augmented the number of their troops, which, when arrived at the borders of the Carnatic, amounted to 40,000 men. The troops sent from Pondicherry crossing the western mountains, at a distance from the Nabob's army, joined Murzafa-jing without opposition; who immediately proceeded to attack the Nabob, and found him encamped, with 20,000 men, under the fort of Amboor, lying 50 miles west of Arcot, and about 30 to the south of Damal-cherry, where Doast-ally Khan was killed fighting against the Morattoes in 1740. This fort of Amboor is built on the summit of a mountain, between which and a large lake at some distance from it is one of the principal passes leading into the Carnatic. The Nabob had thrown up across the pass a strong entrenchment defended by cannon, which was served by about 60 vagabond Europeans: and he had likewise caused the ground in front of the entrenchment to be swamped with water from the lake, which, although it might bemire, was not sufficiently deep to prevent the passage of determined troops.

Mr. d'Auteuil offered to Chunda-saheb to storm the entrenchment with the troops sent from Pondicherry, without the assistance of any part of Murzafa-jing's army; and Chunda-saheb, glad of an opportunity to shew that prince the great services which the European allies he had procured him were capable of performing, readily accepted the offer. The French soldiers were animated by exaggerated representations of the great treasures and other valuable plunder in the Nabob's camp, and advanced with the Sepoys resolutely to the attack; but they were repulsed, chiefly by the Nabob's artillery, of which the first discharge was well pointed, and did execution: they rallied, and made a second attack, which lasted more than half an hour, and many of them had mounted the breast-work of the entrenchment; but they were again beaten off and obliged to retire; and in this attack Mr. d'Auteuil was

wounded.

1749 wounded. Stimulated by the expectations which were entertained of their prowess by Chunda-saheb and Murzafa-jing, who with the whole army under their command had been spectators of the repulses they had sustained, and equally encouraged by the intrepidity of their own officers, especially of Mr. Bussy, they called out to be led on again : at the same time the courage of the defenders had been staggered by the progress which the French troops had made in the preceding attack ; who in this found less resistance than they expected, and got over the breast-work with little loss. The different bodies posted to defend the entrenchment took flight as soon as they saw the French in possession of it : these formed, and advanced in order towards the enemy's main body, where the Nabob's standard was displayed. He was here in person, mounted on an elephant, and surrounded, according to the Indian military array, by the chosen cavalry of his army, whom he was animating with great spirit to stand their ground, when numbers of the troops of Murzafa-jing, led by Chunda-saheb, having crossed the entrenchment, joined the French battalion, and appeared advancing with them. In this instant the Nabob was informed that the standard of Maphuze Khan, his eldest son, who commanded a wing of the main body, had disappeared, and that Maphuze Khan himself was slain by a cannon shot. In the first agitations caused by this disaster, he perceived the elephant of Chunda-saheb, and knew the ensigns of his rival : more than one passion was now excited ; and the Nabob, furious by the sight of the author of this calamitous day, ordered the conductor of his elephant, with the promise of a great reward, to push directly against the elephant of Chunda-saheb. A part of the French battalion was in the way : they fired ; a shot from the musquet of a Caffre went through the Nabob's heart, and he fell from his elephant dead on the plain. As it generally happens in the battles of Indostan on the death of the commander in chief, all those troops who had hitherto appeared determined to stand by the Nabob's standard, fled as soon as he fell, and the rout became general. Murzafa-jing's troops pursued the fugitives, took many, and killed more. Amongst the slain were three or four principal officers ; and amongst those who surrendered was Maphuze Khan the Nabob's eldest son : his son Mahomed-ally was likewise in the battle; but he saved himself by flight. Twelve

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of the French battalion were killed, and 63 wounded: and about 300 1749
of their Sepoys were either killed or wounded: of Murzafa-jing's army very few were lost. This decisive battle was fought on the 23d of July: the victorious army found the tents of the defeated standing, and great quantities of baggage in the camp, which they plundered: the booty was valuable; sixty elephants, and a great number of horses, were taken; which, with the artillery, arms, and military stores, Chunda-saheb and Murzafa-jing reserved to themselves, and permitted their soldiery to take the rest of the spoil: the French battalion had their reward in money. The next day the army set out for Arcot, the capital, and took possession of the city, and its fort, without meeting any opposition.

Murzafa-jing here assumed all the state and ceremonial of a Soubah; and, as the first mark of his authority, issued letters patent, appointing his friend Chunda-saheb Nabob of the Carnatic, and of all the other dominions which had been under the jurisdiction of An'war-odean Khan. This sudden revolution naturally struck with consternation all the chiefs and princes of the coast of Coromandel, who wished ill to the cause of Chunda-saheb. Foremost of these was the king of Tanjore, whose ancestor, at the time that the Moors conquered the Carnatic, submitted on condition of governing his country by its ancient customs; and for the enjoyment of this privilege agreed to pay an annual tribute, as well as to furnish a contingency of troops whenever the government of the Carnatic should be at war in support of the interest of the great Mogul. When Chunda-saheb, in 1736, was confirmed in the government of Tritchinopoly, he summoned the king of Tanjore to account for arrears of tribute, and pretended that he had in other respects offended against the sovereignty of the emperor. A war ensued, in which Chunda-saheb besieged the capital of Tanjore, but without success. The dread entertained of his ambition by the princes of the southern parts of the peninsula, together with their detestation of the violations committed by his troops in their temples, induced these princes, and above all the king of Tanjore, to solicit the Morattoes to invade the Carnatic, at the same time that Nizam-al-muluck, from other motives, was instigating that people to attack it. The disasters brought on the reign-

1749 ing family at Arcot, and the detriment which Chunda-saheb himself had suffered by the incursion of the Morattoes, were such as left no hopes of reconciliation in those who had contributed to bring about that revolution. The news of the battle of Amboor reached Tanjore whilst the English troops under the command of Major Lawrence were in the country, and struck the king with so much terror, that, to gain their friendship, or even to make them cease hostilities at this critical conjuncture, he would, if insisted on, have agreed to much harder terms than those which the English imposed. After the ratification of the treaty by which Devi-Cotah was ceded, Major Lawrence, leaving a garrison in that fort, returned with the rest of the troops to Fort St. David, where news had been lately received that a peace was concluded in Europe between Great Britain and France.

The revolution at Arcot did not fail to create much solicitude in the English at Fort St. David; and the part which Mr. Dupleix had taken in it sufficiently explained his ambitious views: but unfortunately their own proceedings at this very time against the king of Tanjore destroyed the propriety of any protests against Dupleix's conduct; for they could accuse him of nothing, which they had not done themselves. Avoiding therefore any discussions on the battle of Amboor, they confined themselves for the present to demand the restoration of Madrass, which the French, by an article in the peace of Aix la Chapelle, were obliged to deliver up. Mr. Boscawen, with a part of the squadron, sailed thither to take possession of the town: it was evacuated in the middle of August; and the English received it in a condition very different from that in which they had left it. The buildings within the White Town had suffered no alteration; but the bastions and batteries of this quarter had been enlarged and improved. The French had utterly demolished that part of the Black Town which lay within 300 yards from the White: in which space had stood the buildings belonging to the most opulent Armenian and Indian merchants: with the ruins they had formed an excellent glacis, which covered the north side of the White Town; and they had likewise flung up another to the south side. The defences, nevertheless, remained still much inferior to those of Fort St. David, where the fortifications had been so much improved, that the East India company

pany had ordered the presidency of their settlements on the coast 1749
of Coromandel to be continued here.

Mr. Boscawen, during his stay at Madrass, discovered that the Indian Roman Catholics residing at St. Thomé, who composed the greatest part of the inhabitants of this place, were, by the influence of their priests, attached to the French, as brethren of the same persuasion. By the constant intercourse arising from the vicinity, the priests of St. Thomé were enabled to get intelligence of the transactions of the English at Madrass, and never failed to communicate them to Mr. Dupleix, who gave out that Murzafa-jing had made over the property of St. Thomé, to the French company. Mr. Boscawen, to remove the present inconveniencies, and to prevent the greater detriments which would arise by the establishment of a French garrison in the town, took possession of it for the English company. The town had for many years belonged to the Nabobs of Arcot; and after the death of An'war-odean Khan seemed to belong to nobody, for there were no officers either civil or military acting with authority in the place. All the suspected priests were banished: and one of them, who had been sent by Mr. Dupleix from Pondicherry, was transported to Europe. The English flag was hoisted in the town, and a small redoubt, capable of containing about 30 men, was raised at the mouth of the river.

In the mean time Murzafa-jing and Chunda-saheb were employed at Arcot in settling the affairs of their new government: they summoned all the chiefs of districts, and governors of forts, friends as well as foes, to pay a contribution, which they received from many, and, amongst the rest, Mortiz-ally, the governor of Velore, paid 700,000 rupees. After having thus established the reputation of their authority as sovereigns, they proceeded with the greatest part of their army, accompanied by the French battalion to Pondicherry, and made their entry into the city with great pomp. Mr. Dupleix received them with all the ostentatious ceremonies and oriental marks of respect due to the high rank they assumed, and spared no expence in his entertainment of Murzafa-jing, to raise in him a high opinion of the grandeur and magnificence of the French nation. Here they settled the plan of their future operations; and Chunda-saheb pre-

1749 sented Mr. Dupleix with the sovereignty of 81 villages in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry: after which he took the field with Murzafa-jing, and encamped about 20 miles to the west of the city.

Mahomed-ally, the second son of An'war-odean Khan, fled from the battle of Amboor directly to Tritchinopoly, where his mother, with the greatest part of his father's treasures, had been sent for security, on the first news of Chunda-saheb's approach to the Carnatic. This city was much better fortified than any place of the same extent under An'war-odean Khan's government; nevertheless there remained little hopes of defending it against Murzafa-jing, assisted by the French troops, unless the garrison was reinforced by a body of English; and Mahomed-ally, not doubting but they would be convinced of the necessity of stopping the progress of the French, applied to them, as soon as he arrived at Tritchinopoly, for assistance. He asserted, that both Murzafa-jing and Chunda-saheb were rebels to the empire; that Nazir-jing was the real Soubah appointed by the Great Mogul; that he himself was the real Nabob of the Carnatic, having obtained the reversion of the Nabobship from Nizam-al-muluck; and that he daily expected to receive the confirmation from Nazir-jing: a few days after he affirmed that he had received the patents of his appointment.

Whilst Mr. Dupleix was prosecuting a plan which he knew to be entirely agreeable to the views of the monarch and ministers of France, the agents of the English East India company were not authorized from the court of directors to involve their affairs in the risk and expences of military operations: for having neither suspected the views of Mr. Dupleix, nor, until the transitory expedition to Tanjore, entertained any such views themselves, they had neglected to ask, and consequently the directors to give, such a power to exert themselves as the present emergency of affairs required: at the same time they retained their ancient reverence to the Mogul government. Murzafa-jing, for ought they knew, might be the Mogul's representative, and so might Nazir-jing: they were in the same uncertainty of Mahomed-ally's title; and therefore dreaded the risque of subjecting the company's settlements in all parts of India to the resentment

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of the court of Delhi, if, by interfering in the present war of Coromandel they should chance to take the wrong side. Necessity was their justification for having taken possession of St. Thomé ; and they already repented severely of their expedition to Tanjore : and relinquishing all views of conquest, they imagined that the restitution of these places would at any time satisfy the Mogul government, which they were very unwilling to offend any farther. Restrained by this spirit of caution, at the same time that they fully saw the dangers to which they were exposed, they were incapable of taking the vigourous resolutions which the necessity of their affairs demanded. They should have kept Mr. Boscawen with his force on the coast, and joined their whole strength to Mahomed-ally, without considering who was or was not authorized to fight in the Carnatic : whereas they only sent 120 Europeans to join Mahomed-ally at Tritchinopoly, and suffered Mr. Boscawen to return to England with the fleet and troops, notwithstanding he had declared that he would remain, if the presidency publickly requested his stay at this critical conjuncture. 1749

On the 21st of October the fleet sailed from Fort St. David, leaving behind 300 men, to reinforce the garrison. The French were so sensible of the great advantages they should derive from Mr. Boscawen's departure, that they could not immediately bring themselves to believe he intended to quit India ; but imagined that he had only left the coast to avoid the stormy monsoon, and purposed to return as soon as that season was passed. However, they were prepared to take advantage even of this absence, short as they supposed it ; and the very next day Murzafa-jing's army, accompanied by 800 Europeans, 300 Caffres and Topasses, with a train of artillery, began to march from Pondicherry, and crossing the river Coleroon, entered the kingdom of Tanjore.

Mr. Dupleix had strongly recommended to Chunda-saheb to suffer nothing to divert him from proceeding directly to attack the city of Tritchinopoly ; since it was evident, that until this place was reduced, the family of An'war-odean Khan would always be enabled to make efforts to recover the Nabobship. Chunda-saheb acquiesced in the truth of this reasoning ; and, not to discourage the ardour with which

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1749 Mr. Dupleix supported his cause, solemnly promised to follow his advice, when at the same time he intended to act contrary to it. From the dread of lessening his own importance, as well as that of Murzafa-jing, he had carefully concealed from Mr. Dupleix that their treasures, notwithstanding the large contributions they had raised, were almost exhausted by maintaining so numerous an army; and fearing that the siege of Tritchinopoly might be protracted so long, that their troops would desert for want of pay before the place was taken, he had determined to open the campaign by the siege of Tanjore, which being ill fortified, he hoped in a few days either to take, or to reduce to such extremities, as would induce the king to pay a large sum of money to save his capital and his crown.

As soon as the army entered the kingdom, Chunda-saheb summoned the king to pay the arrears of tribute from the death of the Nabob Subder-ally Khan in 1742; asserting, that whatever he might have paid in the interval to An'war-odean Khan was not a tribute to the Mogul government, but a contribution to support a rebel. It is the custom in Indostan to make the conquered pay all the expences of the war; and Chunda-saheb adding to the account of the arrears an exaggerated account of the charges of Murzafa-jing's expedition into the Carnatic, made the total of his demand amount to 40 millions of rupees. The King, upon the first approach of the enemy, had shut himself up in his capital, and now seeing the storm, which he had for some time apprehended, ready to break upon his head, lost courage, and offered to pay a ransom: this was more necessary to Chunda-saheb, than either the reduction of the city, or even the conquest of the kingdom; for in the first case the treasures, as is the custom in times of danger, would be buried, and in the other no revenue, in the confusions of a revolution, could be collected for some months. In order therefore to convince the king of his readiness to enter into a negociation, he did not suffer his army to approach nearer than three miles of the city; and he requested the commander of the French battalion not to commit hostilities during the treaty. The wily Tanjorine knew that by protracting time he should increase the distress of his enemies, and in his letters expressed himself with so much

much seeming humility, that Chunda-saheb suffered himself to be amused to the middle of December, without having settled the terms of accommodation. In the mean time the king, corresponding with Mahomed-ally at Tritchinopoly, joined with him in exhorting Nazir-jing, at Gol-condah, to come and settle the affairs of the Carnatic in person, after the example of his father Nizam-al-muluck. He likewise solicited the assistance of the English, who exhorted him to defend himself to the last extremity; but sent to his assistance no more than 20 Europeans, who were detached from Tritchinopoly, and entered the city of Tanjore in the night. 1749

Mr. Dupleix beheld with great anxiety this detention of the army before Tanjore, and continually sent letters, representing to Chunda-saheb the superior importance of Tritchinopoly: and finding that his exhortations had no effect, he ordered the commander of the French battalion to endeavour to break off the treaty, by committing some signal hostility. By this time Chunda-saheb likewise thought it necessary to attack the place, and, in order to intimidate the Tanjorines, made his whole army march round the walls sounding their military music. This procession was repeated four days successively, but without effect. The Tanjorines fired from the walls upon the troops, whilst they were making this parade; and on the fifth day the French troops attacked three redoubts, about 600 yards from the walls, and carried them with the loss of five Europeans. Early the next morning some of the king's ministers came to the camp, and entered into conference with Chunda-saheb, who made his proposals, and allowed the king two days to consider of them; but finding that no answer was returned on the third, he directed the French commandant to bombard the town: a few shells fell near the king's palace, and frightened him so much, that he immediately sent deputies to the camp; who renewed the conferences, which continued three days longer without concluding any thing. The French commandant, more weary than Chunda-saheb of these delays, renewed the bombardment; and the enemy, assisted by the English soldiers, answered it by the fire of many pieces of cannon, which they had brought from different parts of the fortifications to that which was opposite the French attack. Exasperated by this unexpected resistance, they

1749 they assaulted one of the gates of the city, and carried it; but were nevertheless prevented from entering the town by strong entrenchments. However, this success thoroughly intimidated the king and he now, for the first time, entered seriously into the discussion of Chunda-saheb's demands, and ratified the treaty on the 21st of December; by which he agreed to pay Chunda-saheb, as Nabob, 7,000,000 rupees, and 200,000 immediately in hand to the French troops; he likewise ceded to the French company the sovereignty of 81 villages, which had formerly depended on the town of Karical, where the French had established themselves, and built a fort, against his will, in the year 1736.

1750 We are not exactly informed of the sum stipulated to be immediately paid; but in these military collections the first payment rarely exceeds a fourth part of the whole assessment. The king paid the money with the same spirit of procrastination that he had employed in making the agreement. One day he sent gold and silver plate, and his officers wrangled like pedlars for the prices at which it should be valued; another day he sent old and obsolete coins, such as he knew would require strict and tedious examination; and then he sent jewels and precious stones, of which the value was still more difficult to be ascertained. Chunda-saheb saw the drift of these artifices, and knowing them to be common practices, submitted to wait, rather than lose the money, of which he was so much in want. In these delays several weeks more elapsed; and the king of Tanjore had not completed the first payment when Mr. Dupleix informed Chunda-saheb, that Nazir-jing was approaching from Gol-condah, and advised him at all events to take possession of Tanjore as a place of refuge. But this news struck Murzafa-jing with so much terror, that he immediately broke up his camp with precipitation, and marched back towards Pondicherry.

Nazir-jing, little regarding the schemes of Murzafa-jing, but very apprehensive of the intentions of his elder brother, Ghazi-o-dean, to supersede him in the soubahship of the southern provinces, was advancing towards Delhi with a considerable army, when he heard of the battle of Amboor. The conquest of the Carnatic rendered his nephew no longer a chimerical adventurer, but a formidable rival; he therefore desisted from his journey to Delhi, and returned to Gol-condah, where he immediately

mediately began to augment his army, and sent orders to all the Nabobs and Rajahs, whose territories lie to the south of the Kristna, to hold themselves in readiness to accompany him, with the number of troops which, either as princes paying tribute, or as feudatories of the empire, they were obliged to furnish in times of danger to the Mogul government. It is probable, from the implicit obedience which was paid to these orders, that he was generally believed to be the real representative of the emperor. For some time Nazir-jing imagined, that the report alone of these extraordinary preparations would intimidate his nephew, and induce him to make submissions: but finding that Murzafa-jing, pursuing his successes, had marched into the kingdom of Tanjore, he set out from Gol-condah, and advanced towards the Carnatic. His army, encumbered with all the preparations necessary to furnish the same luxuries in his camp as he enjoyed in his capital, made slow and dilatory marches, and was during its progress every day augmented by the coming in of the different troops summoned to join him. He had hired three bodies of Morattoes, of 10,000 men each, to act as the hussars of the army: one of these was commanded by Morari-row, the same man who was left governor of Tritchinopoly when the Morattoes took the city from Chunda-saheb in 1743. Morari-row was sent forward, and in the middle of February arrived on the bank of the Coleroon, the southern boundary of the Carnatic, before any other part of Nazir-jing's troops had entered the province to the north. They met near the Pagoda of Chillambrum the army of Murzafa-jing, returning with the French battalion; and being not strong enough to venture a general battle, they divided into different bodies, and continued to harrass the enemy's line of march, which extended three leagues: they were often repulsed by the fire of the French field pieces, notwithstanding which they continued to return to the charge, and accompanied Murzafa-jing's army until it arrived at Villanore. Murzafa-jing and Chunda-saheb went into Pondicherry to confer with Mr. Dupleix, who sharply reproached Chunda-saheb for having deviated from the plan of attacking Tritchinopoly, as also for not taking possession of Tanjore. It was now no longer time to dissemble, and Chunda-saheb confessed the motives of his conduct by representing the distress to which Murzafa-jing's

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1750 affairs, as well as his own, were at that time reduced for want of money : he added, that what they had received at Tanjore had likewise been expended in the pay of the army, to whom such arrears were still due, that he every day apprehended some tumult, or perhaps a general defection to their common enemy Nazir-jing. The known generosity of Chunda-saheb secured him from the suspicion of dissembling in this declaration, and Mr. Dupleix now shewed his ability to conduct the ambitious cause in which he was engaged, by not hesitating to employ the treasures of the French company to relieve the distress of his allies. He lent them 50,000 pounds, and gave out that he intended to furnish them with still larger sums : this well-timed assistance reconciled and pacified the army of Murzafa-jing. At the same time Mr. Dupleix augmented the French battalion to the number of 2,000 Europeans, and ordered this body to encamp, under the command of Mr. d'Auteuil at Villanore, where the army of Murzafa-jing was posted.

Nazir-jing on entering the Carnatic, summoned Mahomed-ally to join him from Tritchinopoly, and dispatched letters to Fort St. David, requesting the English to send a body of Europeans ; and he ordered all the troops that marched from the northward to rendezvous under the Forts of Gingee, situated about 35 miles to the northwest of Pondicherry. Large bodies arrived there every day ; and at length, about the middle of March, came up Nazir-jing himself with the main body. When the whole was assembled, his army consisted of 300,000 fighting men, of which more than one half were cavalry, together with 800 pieces of cannon, and 1,300 elephants. This force, and the number of great lords who followed his standard, convinced the English that Nazir-jing was the real Soubah of the southern provinces, and they ordered the detachment at Tritchinopoly to proceed with Mahomed-ally, who with 6,000 horse joined Nazir-jing at Valdore, about fifteen miles from Pondicherry. A few days after, on the 22d of March, major Lawrence, with a body of 600 Europeans from Fort St. David, came to his camp, which was now in sight of that of Murzafa-jing.

A member of the council, and captain Dalton, a military officer, accompanied major Lawrence, and were authorized, in conjunction with

with him, to treat with Nazir-jing on the interests of the East India 1750
company ; he received this deputation with politeness, and, amongst other oriental compliments, desired Major Lawrence to take upon him the command of his whole army, and proposed to attack the enemy immediately. Major Lawrence represented, that the attack would cost the lives of many brave men, as the French occupied a strong post defended by a large train of artillery ; but that, by moving his army between the enemy and Pondicherry, he might, by cutting off their communication, oblige them to fight at a greater disadvantage. Nazir-jing replied, " What ! shall the great Nazir-jing, the " son of Nizam-al-muluck, even for an advantage, suffer the disgrace " of seeming to retreat before so despicable an enemy ? No, he would " march and attack them in front." Major Lawrence replied, that he might act as he pleased ; the English would be ready to support him. The two armies were so near, that an engagement seemed inevitable ; and there was so much disorder at this time in the French battalion, that had the advice of Nazir-jing been followed, the attack he proposed would have been successful.

The French officers who accompanied Murzafa-jing to Tanjore had taken care to receive, out of the first payments made by the king, the money that had been stipulated as their share of the contribution. On the return of the army to Pondicherry, most of these officers requested and obtained leave to quit the camp, and repose themselves from their fatigues in the city, and others were sent to supply their places. These entering upon service just as Nazir-jing's army assembled at Gingee, complained loudly that they should have been chosen to stand the brunt of danger, without any prospect of advantage, whilst those, who had without any risque got so much money at Tanjore, were suffered to retire from the field. They made remonstrances, and demanded a sum of money, to put their fortunes upon an equality with those to whose posts they succeeded. Mr. Dupleix attempted to bring them back to their duty by severity ; but on arresting one, all the rest insisted on receiving the same treatment ; and their numbers being too great to be spared from the servce of the camp at this critical time, the whole party were suffered to remain

1750 without punishment, and continued to sow faction and discontent. The soldiers, from this example of their officers, grew insolent, and became regardless of their duty.

Such was the confusion in the French camp, when Major Lawrence arrived at that of Nazir-jing. The next day the two armies drew out in view of each other, and a cannonade ensued. Mr. d'Auteuil having no reliance on his troops, and dreading the consequences of being attacked by the English, sent a messenger to acquaint Major Lawrence, that although the troops of the two nations were engaged in different causes, yet it was not his intention that any European blood should be spilt : and as he did not know in what part of Nazir-jing's army the English took post, he could not be blamed if any of the French shot came that way. Major Lawrence returned answer, that the English colours were carried on the flag-gun of their artillery, which if Mr. d'Auteuil would look out for, he might from thence discover where the English were posted. He added, that although he was as unwilling as Mr. d'Auteuil, to spill European blood, yet if any shot came that way, he should certainly return them. A shot from the French entrenchment flew over the English battalion ; and Major Lawrence, imagining that it was fired by Mr. d'Auteuil's order, to try whether the English would venture to come to action with the French, directed it to be answered from three guns : the seditious French officers, instead of encouraging, disheartened their men, by exaggerated descriptions of the superior force of the enemy. The cannonade did little execution, and ceased in the evening.

As soon as the night set in, 13 officers went in a body to Mr. d'Auteuil, gave up their commissions, and immediately left the camp ; and by this scandalous desertion confirmed the panic of the troops, who naturally imputed it to fear. Mr. d'Auteuil dreading the consequences of exposing his men in this confusion to a general action, took the resolution of withdrawing immediately from the field, and ordered the battalion to march without delay to Pondicherry. Murzafa-jing and Chunda-saheb knew of the sedition, but never suspecting that it would have produced this consequence, were overwhelmed with astonishment, when they found that their entreaties and remonstrances could not induce Mr. d'Auteuil to alter his determination.

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For some days before the cannonade, messengers had passed between the two camps, with overtures of accommodation; and several officers in Nazir-jing's army had assured Murzafa-jing, that if he submitted, they would protect his person, and guarantee the execution of any treaty which he might make with his uncle; but his reliance on the French troops and Mr. Dupleix, had hitherto prevented him from laying down his arms. There was now no time to be lost in deliberation, for every one was convinced that in consequence of the retreat of the French battalion, the whole army, before another sun was set, would provide for its safety, either by taking flight, or by going over to Nazir-jing. Chunda-saheb who had every thing to fear from the resentment of Nazir-jing, took his resolution in the instant, to accompany the French troops to Pondicherry. Murzafa-jing still hesitated. His principal officers determined him, by representing the irreparable disgrace of exposing the standard of the empire, which he displayed, to retreat: for it is supposed that this ensign never retreats. He therefore refused to accompany Chunda-saheb; and relying on the assurances which had been made to him from Nazir-jing's camp, resolved to send deputies thither, with offers to surrender. After this gloomy conference, the two friends oppressed, but not so much overpowered by their misfortunes as to despair of meeting again in a better hour, embraced and separated with professions of inviolable attachment, which although made by princes in Indostan, were sincere. The French battalion, with some squadrons of horse led by Chunda-saheb, decamped at midnight in silence, but in such confusion, that they left behind forty gunners, with eleven pieces of cannon. At the same time the deputies of Murzafa-jing repaired to the tent of Shanavaze Khan, who with the principal officers of the *durbar*, or court, introduced them to Nazir-jing. This prince was so overjoyed at the prospect of having his nephew in his power, that it is said he did not hesitate to swear on the koran, that he would neither make him a prisoner, nor deprive him of the governments which he enjoyed during his grandfather's life. 1750

On these assurances, Murzafa-jing left his camp, and proceeded to pay his respects to his uncle; but on approaching the head-quarters, was arrested, and carried under a strict guard into a tent near that of

Nazir-jing,

1750 Nazir-jing, where he was immediately put into fetters: as soon as the prince was seized, his camp was attacked, and his troops surprised made little resistance: many were slain during the pursuit, for the Soubah's troops gave no quarter. A party of horse fell in with the French gunners, who had been abandoned by the rest of the battalion, and cut the greatest part of them to pieces. They would have destroyed the whole, had not the English rescued some of them from their fury; but most of these were wounded. The Morattoes commanded by Morari-row, pushed on in pursuit of the French battalion, and came up with it before it had gained the bound-hedge. Mr. d'Auteuil formed his men into a hollow square, which Morari-row attacked and broke into, with only 15 men, imagining that the rest of his party followed him; on seeing his danger when surrounded he immediately made another effort, and broke through the opposite side with six men, losing nine in this second attack. The Morattoes continued to harrass the army until they arrived at the bound-hedge: they killed 19 of the Europeans, and would have done more execution, had they not been vigorously opposed by the cavalry commanded by Chunda-saheb, who behaved with great activity and resolution during the retreat.

This victory intirely dispersed the army of Chunda-saheb and Murzafa-jing, and, together with the imprisonment of his rival, seemed to assure to Nazir-jing the quiet possession of the soubahship: but his capacity was unequal to the management of so great an employ, and treason began already to taint his councils. The Nabobs of Cudapa, Canoul, and Savanore, were the most considerable of the feudatory lords who had accompanied him into the Carnatic: they were all three, Pitans by birth, and possessed the daring temper which characterizes that nation. They had obeyed the summons of Nazir-jing, and taken the field without reluctance, because they made no doubt of obtaining, in reward of their military service, a remission of large sums they owed to the Mogul's treasury, as well as considerable immunities in their respective governments: but Nazir-jing, who assumed the full state of a soubah, paid no regard to their pretensions, and treated them as feudatories, who had done no more than their duty in joining the Mogul's standard. Disappointed in their expectations

tations, they grew weary of a war by which their interests were not benefited, and to put an end to it, had been the first to advise Murzafa-jing to submit. They were seconded in these intentions of bringing about a reconciliation by Shanavaze Khan the prime minister, and several of the principal servants of Nazir-jing's court: but these were actuated by better motives; for, owing their fortunes to Nizam-al-muluck, their gratitude to his memory, and attachment to his family, made them behold with affliction a civil war between his son and grand-son. It was to these nabobs and ministers, as well as to the ambassadors of Murzafa-jing, that Nazir-jing had given those solemn assurances of not injuring his nephew, which he broke as soon as he got him into his power. This breach of faith hurt the minds of all who had interfered in inducing the young prince to surrender: but the ministers were content to make gentle representations to their master, whilst the Pitan Nabobs openly and loudly complained of the affront cast upon themselves, by his contempt of obligations, for the performance of which they had promised to be responsible; and from this hour they confederated, and meditated mischief, but agreed to shew no farther symptoms of discontent until they could carry their designs into execution. 1750

At Pondicherry, the retreat of the French battalion, the news of Murzafa-jing's imprisonment, and the dispersion of his army, naturally created the greatest consternation. But Mr. Dupleix, although more affected than any one by these sudden reverses, had command enough over himself to suppress the emotions of his mind, and dissembled great serenity. He immediately ordered the army to encamp out of the bounds, sent other officers to command it, arrested the mutinous, directed Mr. d'Auteuil to be tried for retreating without orders, and by his own resolution re-established in some measure that of the troops. At the same time he knew that the number of his Europeans, unsupported by an Indian army, was insufficient to make a stand against the vast force of Nazir-jing, assisted by the English battalion; but his knowledge of the general character of the princes of Indostan, made him not despair of discovering, or even of creating some faction in the court of Nazir-jing, which, artfully managed, might contribute to re-establish the broken affairs of Murzafa-jing and Chunda-saheb.

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1750 In order therefore to gain the time and intelligence of which he stood so much in need, he determined to enter into a negociation. He had some days before written a letter to Nazir-jing, in which he had offered to make peace, on condition that Murzafa-jing was re-instated in his former governments, and Chunda-saheb put in possession of the Nabobship of the Carnatic. To this letter Nazir-jing had returned no answer, and Mr. Dupleix made use of this neglect as a pretext to continue the correspondence. He asserted, that the retreat of the French troops had been executed in consequence of orders which he himself had given, in hopes of accelerating the peace, by that proof of his aversion to continue hostilities; and to convince Nazir-jing that the troops had not taken flight, as was believed in his camp, he boldly magnified the slaughter they made when attacked in their retreat. He reminded him of the hospitality and good treatment which his sister the mother of Murzafa-jing, received in Pondicherry; recommended this prince to his clemency, and desired leave to send ambassadors.

Nazir-jing consented to receive the embassy, and two of the council of Pondicherry went to the camp; one of them was well versed in the Indostan and Persic languages, which are the only tongues used in the courts of the Mahomedan princes. They had an audience of ceremony, after which they conferred, as usual, with the council of ministers, and after several higher demands, they made their ultimate proposals, which were, that the estates of Murzfa-jing should be invested in the son of that prince, until Nazir-jing could be prevailed upon to reconcile himself to the father; and that Chunda-saheb should be appointed Nabob of the Carnatic. The council of ministers, although many of them wished well to Murzafa-jing, would not venture to represent to their master the demands made by Mr. Dupleix in his behalf; and told the French deputies, that the pretensions of Chunda-saheb were still less admissible, seeing that the government of the Carnatic was bestowed on Mahomed-ally, the son of An'war-odean Khan. The French deputies left the camp, after having remained in it eight days; but although they failed in gaining the apparent ends of their mission, they obtained the real advantages Mr. Dupleix proposed from it, by making themselves acquainted with the state of Nazir-jing's court, and by establishing

blishing the means of carrying on a correspondence with the discontented Nabobs of Cudapa, Canoul, and Savanore. 1750

Suspicions were entertained of the clandestine conduct of the French deputies, and major Lawrence was informed, that some design was carrying on in the camp against the Soubah, in which Shanavaze Khan, the prime minister, was the principal agent. The latter part of this report was not true, and the first could not be proved : however, the major, at an audience, endeavoured to acquaint Nazir-jing with what he had heard, but his interpreter had not courage to make a declaration, which would probably have cost him his life, and misrepresented what he was ordered to say. There was no other method of conveying this intelligence ; for the state maintained by Nazir-jing, as Soubah, suffered no letters to be directly addressed to him, and no one was admitted to a private conference but his prime minister, who was involved in the accusation, or his domestics, who, as in all courts, were dependants on the minister.

On the return of the deputies, Chunda-saheb began to levy troops, and Mr. Dupleix thought it necessary to re-establish the reputation of the French arms by some enterprize, which might convince the allies he had gained in Nazir-jing's camp, that he was both prepared and determined to continue the war. Mr. d'Auteuil, who had taken the command again, marched before day, and attacked by surprize one of the quarters of the camp, into which the troops penetrated a mile, firing at fugitives : for, as it is the custom in an Indian army to make the great meal at night, and after it to smoke opium, and other soporiferous drugs, the whole camp towards morning is generally in so deep and heavy a sleep, that a few resolute and disciplined men may beat up thousands, before they recover alertness sufficient to make any vigorous resistance.

In the mean time Major Lawrence with the battalion remained in the camp, and with the other deputies sollicited Nazir-jing to confirm the grant, which Mahomed-ally, now esteemed Nabob of Arcot, had made to the East-India company of a territory near Madrass, in return for the assistance of their troops. He had often promised to comply with this request ; but his minister Shanavaze Khan regarded

1750 such a cession as inconsistent with the majesty of the Mogul empire, and prevented the *phirmaund*, or patent, from being issued from his office. Wearied with prevarication, Major Lawrence insisted on a peremptory answer, on which he was assured that he should be immediately satisfied, provided he would march with the battalion to Arcot, where Nazir-jing had taken the resolution of going with his whole army. He did not think it prudent to comply with this proposal, lest the French and Chunda-saheb should take advantage of his absence and invade the English territory. He therefore endeavoured to divert the Soubah from this purpose, by representing that it would give the enemy an opportunity of recruiting their forces, and recommencing hostilities; whereas by remaining near Pondicherry, he might, by cutting off their communications with the country, reduce them to such distresses as would oblige them to accept of peace on his own terms. This reasoning producing no effect, the major returned with the battalion to Fort St. David, and in the latter end of April Nazir-jing broke up his camp at Valdore, and marched to Arcot.

From thence he sent orders to seize the houses and effects, which the French company had in the city of Masulipatnam, and at Yanam, a weaving town about 35 miles farther north. His officers proceeded without violence, plundered nothing, and sealed up what they took possession of. The detriment sustained was not considerable; but Mr. Dupleix, apprised of the defenceless condition of Masulipatnam, determined to revenge it ten-fold, by attacking this city, which he had for some months considered as an acquisition so necessary to his future views, that he had prevailed on Murzafa-jing upon his first arrival at Pondicherry to promise the cession of it to the French company. Masulipatnam is situated at the mouth of the river Kristna, which bounds the coast of Coromandel, and the ancient Carnatic to the north: it is the sea-port of Gol-condah and the western countries in that part of the peninsula, with which it has communication by the river Kristna, and by several high roads: it was formerly the greatest mart, and one of the most opulent and populous cities of Indostan; insomuch that several modern authors, first blundering in the acceptation and orthography of the termination Patnam, which signifies

signifies a town; and then forming conjectures on the reputation of 1750
this place, have not hesitated to derive the whole Pitan nation, but also a race of kings at Delhi, from a colony of Arabians, who, about 400 years ago, as they say, founded Masulipatnam. The city is even at this day a place of considerable trade and resort, and famous for its manufactures of painted cloths; for the plants from which the dies are extracted grow no where in such perfection as in the adjacent territory. In the beginning of July a detachment of 200 Europeans and 300 Sepoys, together with several pieces of battering cannon and a quantity of military stores, were put on board two large ships, which, after a passage of three days, anchored in the road. The troops landed in the night, and attacking the city by surprize, took it with very little loss. They kept possession of it, and immediately began to put it into a better posture of defence.

In the mean time the French battalion had, soon after the retreat of the Soubah's army, formed their camp, as if in defiance of his authority, on the limits of the new territory ceded by Murzafa-jing to the French company; but this insult produced no effect on the mind of Nazir-jing, who deeming the imprisonment of his nephew a sufficient security against any farther commotions, indulged the bent of his nature, and gave his whole time to the pleasures of women, and hunting: but although he gave no application to business, he decided peremptorily on the affairs which his ministers reported to him; and his orders, howsoever absurd, were irrevocable: his caprices disgusted his friends, and his indolence rendered him contemptible to his enemies. The Pitan Nabobs insinuated themselves into his favour, by encouraging him in his vices, and at the same time advised Mr. Dupleix to proceed to action.

Mr. Dupleix followed their advice, and ordered 500 Europeans to attack the pagoda of Trivadi, lying about fifteen miles to the west of Fort St. David. The pagoda served as a citadel to a large *pettah*, by which name the people on the coast of Coromandel call every town contiguous to a fortress. Trivadi made no resistance, and the French having garrisoned it with 50 Europeans and 100 Sepoys, began to collect the revenues of the district. This acquisition carried them to the south of the river Pannar; and Mahomed-ally concluding

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1750 that they would not hesitate to push their conquests still farther, requested Nazir-jing to permit him to take the field, and defend the territories of which he had created him lord, alledging that the English, for the sake of their own interests, would join his troops with their whole force. Nazir-jing was so exasperated against the English for having refused to accompany him to Arcot, that it was some time before he could be prevailed on to suffer his vassal to ask their assistance : at length however he consented, but without giving his own name as a sanction. The English, assured by Mahomed-ally that he would punctually defray all expences, ordered a body of 400 Europeans and 1,500 Sepoys to take the field, and the Nabob marched from Arcot with an army of 20,000 men, of which more than one half were the troops of Nazir-jing ; but not thinking even this force sufficient to pass through the countries near Pondicherry, before it was reinforced by the English troops, he encamped and waited for them near Gingee, where they joined them in the beginning of July.

The army then moved towards Fort St. David, and encamped on the plain of Trivandaparum, waiting for two 24 pounders and military stores. As soon as these arrived, they marched on the 19th of July towards the French, whom they discovered in the evening about eight miles to the east of Trivadi, near the northern bank of the Pannar, which river was at this time fordable. The army halted on the south side of the river, and a large body of Sepoys, with the company of Caffres, were detached to attack the enemy's advanced posts, and to reconnoitre the situation of their camp. A skirmish ensued which lasted until night, when the detachment was recalled. They reported, that the enemy's camp was in a grove, enclosed by strong entrenchments, mounted with ten pieces of cannon. In order to draw them from this situation, captain Cope persuaded the Nabob to march against Trivadi ; and the army appeared before the place the next day, and summoned the garrison, who refused to surrender. Captain Cope therefore proposed to the Nabob to order his troops to scale the walls, and make a general assault, whilst the English battered down the gates. The Nabob consented, but his troops refused to undertake so perilous an attempt ; the army therefore marched back the next morning towards the French encampment, and halting, formed for battle

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within gun-shot of their entrenchments. The commander of the French troops sent a messenger to ask the reason why the English came so near their posts, and declared that if they did not immediately march away, he should in his own defence be obliged to fire upon them. Captain Cope replied, that the English acting as allies to the Nabob, were determined to accompany him into all parts of his dominions, and to assist him against all who should oppose his authority. The messenger was scarcely returned when a shot from the French entrenchment killed some of the English soldiers. It was answered from the two 18 pounders and four field pieces; and a cannonade ensued, which lasted from noon till night, when the English quitted their ground with the loss of 10 Europeans and 50 Sepoys, and 200 of the Nabob's troops were likewise killed: the French secured by their entrenchments, suffered much less. This ill success depressed Mahomed-ally as much as if the army had suffered a total defeat, and rendering him anxious to remove out of the neighbourhood of the enemy, he proposed to march to the west, pretending that his army could not subsist in their present situation, since all their provisions coming from Arcot, and the inland parts of the province, would be exposed to the French stations at Gingee, Valdore, and Trivadi. By accompanying the Nabob the English would have been of no other service than that of shewing him to the province in parade at the head of an army: but this, ridiculous as it may appear, was the very service he preferred to all others; since it would have produced not only the homage of the renters and farmers of the country, but likewise some money by the presents he would have obliged them to make. On the other hand, Captain Cope was instructed not to march beyond any of the French posts, lest his communication with Fort St. David should be cut off; and he was likewise ordered to endeavour by all means to bring the enemy to an engagement: he therefore insisted with the Nabob that the army should place themselves between the French camp and Pondicherry. There were no means of reconciling two opinions so directly opposite; and this disagreement indisposed the Nabob so much towards his allies, that when they demanded the money promised for their expences, he first made excuses, and at last declared he had none; having, as he said, exhausted

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1750 exhausted his treasury by giving Nazir-jing two millions of rupees. Major Lawrence, who now commanded at Fort. St. David, not only as the first military officer, but also as temporary governor of the settlement, was as much offended by these prevarications of Mahomed-ally as he had been by those of Nazir-jing, and with the same spirit of indignation which had dictated to him the resolution of quitting the Soubah, ordered the troops to leave the Nabob, and march back to Fort St. David, where they arrived the 19th of August.

As soon as they retreated, Mr. Dupleix ordered the main body at Valdore to march and join the camp near Trivadi: the whole force, when united, consisted of 1,800 Europeans, 2,500 Sepoys, and 1,000 horse, levied by Chunda-saheb, together with twelve field pieces. The army of Mahomed-ally consisted of 5,000 foot and 15,000 horse, variously armed: his camp extended between two villages which secured the flanks; the rear was defended by a river; in front were several entrenchments occupied by the infantry; and in the other intervals, where there were no entrenchments, cannon were planted; the cavalry, instead of being out on the plain, formed a second line within the camp. On the 21st of August the French advanced to attack this absurd disposition: their field pieces were distributed in front; the baggage-carts were ranged in a regular line in the rear, and the cavalry were on each wing: they made several halts, during which they gave a general discharge of their artillery, which was answered by the enemy's cannon and musketry, not a shot of which did execution; but a rocket, which the Moors make use of to frighten cavalry, set fire to a tumbril, and this blowing up, wounded some of the sepoys. As soon as the French troops were within 200 yards of the camp, they marched up briskly to the entrenchments, which the Nabob's troops immediately abandoned, and at the same time deserted the cannon. The French having entered the camp, formed again, brought up their artillery, and began to fire upon the cavalry, who were soon flung into confusion. The rout became general, and horse and foot fled promiscuously and with such precipitation, that many pushed directly into the river, where they were drowned. They continued to fire upon the fugitives whilst any remained in the camp, and killed near a thousand men: the Nabob himself made his escape

escape with great difficulty, and hurried away to Arcot, where he arrived with only two or three attendants. This victory was obtained by the French without the loss of a man, and none were even wounded, excepting those who suffered by the explosion of the tumbril. 1750

Even this success of their arms was not sufficient to rouze Nazirjing out of the luxurious indolence in which he passed his time at Arcot: Mr. Dupleix resolved to avail himself of his inactivity, and of the general consternation which the defeat of Mahomed-ally had caused in the neighbouring countries, and immediately ordered his army to march and attack Gingee. This place was formerly the residence of a race of Morattoe kings, whose dominions extended from hence to the borders of the kingdom of Tanjore: these princes were the ancestors of the famous Sevagee, who became king over all the Morattoe nations; and it has long been a general, although erroneous notion, that Sevagee himself was born at Gingee. The fortifications, as well as those of Velore, bear the marks of the military character of the nation to which they belonged. A strong wall flanked with towers, and extending near three miles, incloses three mountains, which form nearly an equilateral triangle; they are steep and craggy, and on the top of each are built large and strong forts: besides, there are many other fortifications upon the declivities: on the plain between the three mountains is a large town. The Indians, who esteem no fortifications very strong, unless placed upon high and difficult eminences, have always regarded Gingee as the strongest fortress in the Carnatic.

A detachment of 250 Europeans, 1,200 Sepoys, with four field pieces, commanded by Mr. Bussy, set out before the rest of the army, and advanced by slow marches, intending, it is probable, to attack the place by suprize; and the main body, commanded by Mr. d'Auteuil, followed at the distance of a forced march. When in sight of Gingee, Mr. Bussy found that 5,000 of the fugitives from the defeat at Trivadi had taken refuge here, and were encamped under the walls, with some pieces of artillery managed by Europeans. He therefore waited till the main body came in sight, and then advanced and attacked these troops, who made very little resistance, and quitted the field as soon as Mr. d'Auteuil came up. The French took their artillery,

1750 tillery, and killed most of the Europeans who served it. They then proceeded to petard one of the gates of the outer wall on the plain, and got possession of it a little before night, with the loss of only three or four men, and the troops with all the artillery and baggage entered the town; where they immediately fortified themselves by barricading the narrow streets with the baggage-waggons, and by distributing the cannon in the larger avenues. In this situation they were exposed to a continual fire from the three mountains: the Moors likewise threw great numbers of rockets, in hopes of setting fire to the combustible stores. The French bombarded the forts with mortars, and fired upon them with artillery until the moon set, which was the signal to storm the fortifications on the mountains. None but the Europeans were destined to this hardy enterprize, who attacked all the three mountains at the same time, and found on each redoubts above redoubts, which they carried successively sword in hand, until they came to the summits, where the fortifications were stronger than those they had surmounted; they nevertheless pushed on and petarded the gates, and by day-break were in possession of them all, having lost only twenty men in the different attacks. On contemplating the difficulties they had conquered, they were astonished at the rapidity of their own success, and the extreme pusillanimity of the defenders; and indeed, had the attack been made in day-light, it could not have succeeded; for the Moors, as well as Indians, often defend themselves very obstinately behind strong walls; but it should seem that no advantages, either of number or situation, can countervail the terror with which they are struck when attacked in the night.

The great reputation of the strength of Gingee naturally exalted the fame of the French prowess; and the loss of this important fortress awakened Nazir-jing, and made him at last recollect that it was time to oppose the progress of an enemy who seemed capable of the boldest enterprizes. On his arrival at Arcot, he had sent back to Gol-condah two of his generals, with the greatest part of the troops in his own pay, and had likewise permitted many of the Rajahs and Indian chiefs to return home with their troops. He now recalled all these forces; but hoping that the news of these preparations, with offers of moderate advantages, would induce the French to lay down their arms, he determined

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to try the effect of negociation before he took the field, and sent two 1750
of his officers to Pondicherry, to treat with Mr. Dupleix: who now not only insisted on the restoration of Murzafa-jing to his liberty and estates, together with the appointment of Chunda-saheb in the Carnatic; but required also, that the city of Masulipatnam, with its dependencies, should be given up to the French company, and that their troops should keep possession of Gingee until Nazir-jing returned to Aureng-abad.

He scarcely expected that Nazir-jing would agree to these imperious terms, and by proposing them had no other intention than to provoke him to take the field, for it was in the field alone that the projects he had formed against him could be carried into execution. His expectation was not disappointed, for Nazir-jing immediately ordered his troops to march towards Gingee, and in the latter end of September joined them himself. His army was now much less numerous than when he entered the Carnatic; for very few of the chiefs who had been permitted to return to their own countries rejoined his standard, and the troops which he had sent to Gol-condah were at too great a distance to march back into the province of Arcot before the rainy season. His camp however consisted of 60,000 foot, 45,000 horse, 700 elephants, and 360 pieces of cannon, and with the attendants, who in an Indian army always out-number the regular troops, contained a multitude little less than 300,000 men. This great body moved very slowly, and employed fifteen days in marching 30 miles; and when at the distance of sixteen from Gingee, were prevented from getting any farther by the rains, which setting in with great violence, overflowed the whole country. The notion of exposing the standard of the empire to disgrace, by appearing to retreat, prevented Nazir-jing from returning immediately to Arcot, and in two or three days his army was inclosed between two rivers, which were rendered almost impassable by the inundation. The communication with the neighbouring countries grew every day more difficult, provisions became scarce, and the army suffering likewise from the inclemency of the weather, sickness began to spread in the camp, and these distresses were likely to continue until the return of fair weather in December. The wavering temper of Nazir-

1750 jing grew impatient at these unexpected impediments, which protracted a war, in which he had already wasted a year, absent from the rest of the vast estates of his soubahship ; and growing on a sudden as anxious to quit the Carnatic as he had hitherto been fond of remaining in it, he renewed his correspondence with Mr. Dupleix ; and to avoid the disgrace of seeing the French maintain their pretensions in hostile defiance of his authority, he determined at last to give his patents for all the cessions they demanded, on condition that they should hold them as his vassals.

Mr. Dupleix, who well knew the little faith to be reposed in any engagements or professions made by the princes of Indostan, neither suffered the offers of Nazir-jing to slacken his machinations with the discontented confederates in the army, nor his reliance on these to interrupt his negociation with their sovereign. It was now the month of December, the rains were ceased, and the important moment was at hand, when it was absolutely necessary to make the option between two very different methods of accomplishing his views.

His correspondence with the Pitan Nabobs had been carried on seven months, and they had engaged in their conspiracy above twenty other officers of principal note ; so that all together the confederates commanded one half of Nazir-jing's army : they represented, that if it was wonderful the secret had been so long kept by so many, every hour's delay now teemed with infinite risques, since, in order to make the dispositions necessary to insure the success of the enterprize, they were obliged every day to communicate to numbers of subaltern officers a secret, which, at the time of execution, must be known to all their troops.

At the same time came deputies from Nazir-jing to Pondicherry, who confidently affirmed that he would immediately sign the treaty, break up his camp, and march out of the Carnatic.

Assured of success by either of these events, Mr. Dupleix left chance to decide which should take place, and pressing Nazir-jing's deputies to produce the treaty ratified, he at the same time ordered the commander of the French troops at Gingee to march the very instant that the confederates should signify to him that every thing was prepared to carry the long-meditated scheme into execution.

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The summons from the Pitan Nabobs arrived at Gingee before the ratification of the treaty at Pondicherry. 1750

It was on the 4th of December that Mr. de la Touche, who now commanded the troops, began his march from Gingee with 800 Europeans, 3,000 Sepoys, and ten field pieces. Some hints were given sufficient to inspire the soldiers with confidence, but Mr. de la Touche communicated the whole plan only to Mr. Bussy and three or four of the principal officers. A guide sent by the confederates conducted the army towards the quarter where the troops immediately commanded by Nazir-jing encamped, which, after a march of sixteen miles, the French came in sight of at four o'clock the next morning. The whole camp extended eighteen miles, every Nabob and Rajah having a separate quarter. Some cavalry going the rounds discovered the French battalion, and alarmed the advanced posts, which were very soon dispersed: the French then came up to the line of Nazir-jing's artillery, behind which were drawn up 25,000 foot. Here the conflict became sharper; for the first firing having spread the alarm, most of the generals devoted to Nazir-jing sent their troops to the place of action; so that one body was no sooner repulsed than another succeeded, and even many of the fugitives rallied, and formed again in their rear. The French never experienced with more success the advantage of field pieces managed with the dexterity of quick firing; for this alone preserved the troops in many a repeated charge from being broken by the cavalry. Thus surrounded, they gained their way very slowly, and after passing the line of cannon, were three hours advancing three miles into the camp. They had already dispersed one half of the army, when they descried at some distance a vast body of horse and foot drawn up in order, which extended as far as the eye could reach; and the French troops were on the point of losing courage at the idea of having this formidable host still to encounter, when they perceived in the center of it an elephant bearing a large white flag. This was the signal of the confederates: it was immediately known by Mr. de la Touche, and explained to the troops, who expressed their joy by repeated shouts: they were ordered to halt, until some intelligence should be received from the Pitan Nabobs, whose ensigns were now discerned approaching.

1750 Nazir-jing, who had the day before ratified his treaty with Mr. Dupleix, and sent it to Pondicherry, gave no credit to those who first reported to him that his camp was attacked by the French troops: when convinced of it, the majestic ideas in which he had been educated, together with some degree of natural courage, did not suffer him to apprehend any danger from such a handful of men, and calling their attack "the mad attempt of a parcel of drunken Europeans," he ordered the officers who were near him to go and cut them to pieces, and at the same time ordered the head of Murzafa-jing to be struck off and brought to him. Messengers arrived every minute to inform him of the progress which the French troops were making; and on enquiring what dispositions were made by the different Nabobs and chiefs who followed his standard, he was told, that the troops of Cudapah, Canoul, Candanore, of Mysore, together with 20,000 of the Morattoes, were drawn up in order of battle, but had not yet advanced to repulse the French. Enraged at this inaction of so large a part of his army, he mounted his elephant, and accompanied by his body-guard, advanced toward these troops; and the first he came to were these of Cudapah, whose Nabob was at their head. Nazir-jing rode up to him, and told him, that he was a dastardly coward, who dared not to defend the Mogul's standard against the most contemptible of enemies. The traitor replied, that he knew no enemy but Nazir-jing, and at the same time gave the signal to a fusileer, who rode with him on the same elephant, to fire. The shot missed, on which Cudapah himself discharged a carabine, which lodged two balls in the heart of the unfortunate Nazir-jing, who fell dead on the plain. His guards were struck with so much dismay at this sudden assassination, that few of them attempted to revenge it, and these few were soon dispersed, or cut down. The Nabob of Cudapah then ordered the head to be severed from the body, and hasted away with it to the tent of Murzafa-jing, concerning whose safety he had no anxiety; having engaged in the conspiracy the officer to whose care the confinement of this prince had been entrusted: he found him freed from the fetters which he had now worn seven months, and hailing him Soubah of the Decan, presented to him, as a confirmation of the title,

title, the head of his uncle. Murzafa-jing ordered it to be fixed on a pole, and to be carried to the army of the confederates, whither he repaired himself attended by the Nabob. 1750

The news was spread through the confederate army with great rapidity by the elevation of small white banners : Mr. de la Touche discovered these signals very soon after he had ordered the French battalion to halt, and knew the meaning of them : a few minutes after came a horseman at full speed, sent from Murzafa-jing ; upon which Mr. Bussy was immediately dispatched to compliment him, and receive his orders. The death of Nazir-jing was no sooner known amongst his troops than the greatest part of them came in crowds to range themselves under the banner of his successor, and by nine o'clock in the morning every sword was sheathed, notwithstanding that three brothers of the murdered prince were in the camp. The new Soubah proceeded to the tent of state, where he received homage from most of the great officers, who the day before had paid it to his uncle. But the prime minister Shanavaze Khan was not of the number ; he, dreading the resentment of Murzafa-jing, for having suffered him to remain so long in prison, made his escape to the fort of Chittapet : and Mahomed-ally, the open rival of Chunda-saheb knew he had every thing to apprehend from this revolution : fortunately his quarters were at a considerable distance from the scene of this catastrophe ; and the instant he heard of it, he mounted the fleetest of his horses, and, accompanied only by two or three attendants, hasted with the utmost precipitation to gain his fortress of Tritchinopoly.

In the evening, Mr de la Touche, accompanied by all his officers, went in ceremony to pay his respects to Murzafa-jing, by whom they were received with demonstrations of gratitude worthy the important service they had rendered him. The oriental compliments paid to them on this occasion, were, for once, not destitute of truth ; for, excepting the conquests of Cortez and Pizarro in the new world, never did so small a force decide the fate of so large a sovereignty. The dominions of the Great Mogul consist of 22 provinces, six of which, comprehending more than one third of the empire, compose

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1750 the soubahship of the Decan; the viceroy of which division is, by a title still more emphatical than that of Soubah stiled, in the language of the court, Nizam-al-muluck, or regulator of the empire: his jurisdiction extends in a line nearly north and south, from Brampore to Cape Comorin, and eastward from that line to the sea. Golcondah, one of these provinces, comprehends what Europeans call the Nabobships of Arcot, Canoul, Cudapah, Raja-mandrum, and Chicacole; so that there were under Nizam-al-muluck, thirty such Nabobs, besides several powerful Indian kings, and many others of lesser note: the number of subjects in the Decan probably exceeds thirty-five millions. Of this great dominion, Murzafa-jing, from a prisoner in irons, and condemned to death, saw himself in the revolution of a few hours declared almost the absolute lord, and with the prospect of maintaining possession of it; for his pretensions were highly supported by the Vizir at Delhi: but the sun did not set before the joy inspired by this sudden change of his fortunes was tainted with anxiety; for the Pitan Nabobs began to demand imperiously the rewards they expected for the parts they had contributed to his elevation: their pretensions were exorbitant, and even inconsistent with the principles of the Mogul government. It is not to be doubted that Murzafa-jing had, during his imprisonment, promised every thing they thought proper to ask, not intending to fulfil more than what the necessity of his affairs should oblige him to; but the presence of the French troops now rendered him little apprehensive of their resentment, and to them alone he entrusted the guard of his person, and the care of his treasures: however, not to irritate the Nabobs, by an absolute rejection of their claims, he told them that his engagements with the French nation would not permit him to determine any thing without the advice and participation of Mr. Dupleix, and encouraged them to hope that every thing would be settled to their satisfaction at Pondicherry.

Here the tidings of Nazir-jing's death, and of the enthronement of his nephew, arrived in the afternoon: it was first brought to Chunda-saheb, who forgetting the ceremonies and attendance without which persons of his rank never appear in public, quitted his house alone,

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and ran to the palace, where he was the first who announced it to Mr. Dupleix. They embraced with the agitations of two friends escaped from a shipwreck: the news was proclaimed to the town by a general discharge of the artillery; and in the evening Mr. Dupleix held a court, and received the compliments of all the inhabitants. The next day a Te Deum was sung in full ceremony, and three deputies were sent to compliment Murzafa-jing: and two days afterwards another deputation carried six costly *Seerpaws;* these are garments which are presented sometimes by superiors in token of protection, and sometimes by inferiors in token of homage; and with the *Seerpaws* was carried a white flag on an elephant, which were likewise presented. Murzafa-jing pretended to be so much pleased with the compliment of the flag, that he ordered it should in future be always displayed in the midst of the ensigns of his sovereignty. 1750

On the 15th of December at night he came to the gates with a numerous and splendid attendance, in which were most of the principal lords of his court: he was received by Mr. Dupleix and Chunda-saheb in a tent without the city; and discovered great emotions of joy in this interview. It was intended, in deference to his rank, that he should have entered the town on his elephant; but the animal was too large to pass under the beam to which the draw-bridge was suspended; whereupon he politely desired to go in the same palankin with Mr. Dupleix to the palace: here they had a private conference, in which he explained the difficulties he lay under from the pretensions of the Pitan Nabobs, and afterwards retired to the house appointed for his reception, where he was expected with impatience by his mother, his wife, and his son.

The next day the three Pitan Nabobs came into the town, and desired Mr. Dupleix to determine what rewards they should receive for the services they had rendered: they demanded, that the arrears of tribute, which they had not paid for three years, should be remitted; that the countries which they governed, together with several augmentations of territory they now demanded, should in future be exempted from tribute to the Mogul government; and that one half of

1750 of the riches found in Nazir-jing's treasury should be delivered to them.

It was known that all the lords of Murzafa-jing's court waited to measure their demands by the concessions which he should make to the Pitan Nabobs : if these obtained all they asked, the whole of his dominion would scarcely suffice to satisfy the other claimants in the same proportion ; and, on the other hand, if they were not satisfied, it was much to be apprehended that they would revolt ; Mr. Dupleix therefore postponed all other considerations to this important discussion, and conferred with the Pitans for several days successively. He acknowledged the great obligations Murzafa-jing lay under to them for their conduct in the revolution ; but insisted that he himself had contributed as much to it as they, and was therefore entitled to as great rewards, and that if such concessions were extorted, the Soubah would no longer be able to maintain the dignity he had acquired : intending therefore to set the example of moderation, he, in the last conference, told them, that he should relinquish his own pretensions to any share of the treasures, or to any other advantages, which might distress the affairs of Murzafa-jing. The Pitans finding him determined to support the cause of this prince at all events, agreed amongst themselves to appear satisfied with the terms he prescribed : which were, that their governments should be augmented by some districts much less than those they demanded ; that their private revenues should be increased by the addition of some lands belonging to the crown given to them in farm at low rates ; and that the half of the money found in Nazir-jing's treasury should be divided amongst them ; but the jewels were reserved to Murzafa-jing.

This agreement was signed by the Nabobs, who likewise took on the Alcoran an oath of allegiance to the Soubah ; declaring at the same time that Nizam-al-muluck himself had never been able to obtain from them this mark of submission : and he on his part swore to protect them whilst they remained faithful.

All dissentions being now in appearence reconciled, feasts and entertainments ensued, in which Mr. Dupleix spared no expence to raise in his guests a high opinion of the grandeur of his nation by the splendour with

with which he affected to represent his monarch. Amidst these rejoicings was performed the ceremony of installing the Soubah, in the throne of the Decan : it was very pompous ; and Mr. Dupleix appeared, next to the Soubah, the principal actor in it ; for in the dress of a Mahomedan lord of Indostan, with which the prince himself had clothed him, he was the first who paid homage ; after which he was declared governor for the Mogul of all the countries lying to the south of the river Kristna ; that is, of a territory little less than France itself : he likewise received the title of *Munsub*, or commander, of 7,000 horse, with the permission of bearing amongst his ensigns that of the fish ; neither of which distinctions is ever granted excepting to persons of the first note in the empire : It was ordered, that no money should be current in the Carnatic, but such as was coined at Pondicherry ; and that the Mogul's revenues from all the countries of which Mr. Dupleix was now appointed vicegerent should be remitted to him, who was to account for them to the Soubah : and Chunda-saheb was declared Nabob of Arcot and its dependencies, under the authority of Mr. Dupleix. All the Mogul and Indian lords paid homage, and made presents : pensions, titles of honor, and governments, were bestowed on those who had assisted in the revolution, or had otherwise merited favour : but he granted none of these to any, excepting such as presented requests signed by the hand of Mr. Dupleix. 1750

The immediate advantages arising to the French East India company by these concessions, were the possession of a territory near Pondicherry producing annually 96,000 rupees ; of that near Karical in the kingdom of Tanjore, valued at 106,000 ; and the city of Masulipatnam with its dependencies, of which the yearly income amounted to 144,000 rupees ; in all, a revenue of 38,000 pounds sterling, according to the accounts published by the French, which there is reason to believe are greatly extenuated. But these advantages were small in comparison of those which Mr. Dupleix expected to obtain from the extensive authority with which he was now invested ; and altho' not one of these grants could, according to the constitution of the Mogul empire, be of any validity, unless confirmed by the emperor, he, without scruple, assumed them as law-

1750 ful acquisitions : it is certain that, imperfect as they were, they served greatly to raise the reputation of his importance in the Carnatic, where the Soubah of the southern provinces is more respected than the great Mogul himself. Even Mahomed-ally appeared to be confounded by these concessions ; and from Tritchinopoly, to which place he had escaped with great difficulty, impowered the Morattoe, Raja Janogee, to treat with Mr. Dupleix for the surrender of the city, and offered, as the French affirm with great confidence in more than one memoir, to relinquish his pretensions to the Nabobship of Arcot, provided Murzafa-jing would give him some other government in the territory of Gol-condah, and leave him in possession of his treasures, without demanding any account of his father An'war-odean Khan's administration. Mr. Dupleix agreed to these terms, and imagined that they would very soon be carried into execution : so that nothing now retarded the departure of Murzafa-jing to Gol-condah and Aureng-abad, where his presence became every day more necessary. As the power of Mr. Dupleix depended on the preservation of this prince, whose government in a country subject to such sudden revolutions, probably would not be free from commotions, he proposed that a body of French troops should accompany him until he was firmly established in the soubahship ; and from experience of the services they were capable of rendering, this offer was accepted without hesitation.

The treasures of Nazir-jing were computed at two millions sterling, and the jewels at 500,000 pounds : in the partition of this wealth, a provision for the private fortune of Mr. Dupleix was not neglected, notwithstanding the offer which he had made in the conference with the Pitan Nabobs to relinquish all pretensions to any such advantage by the revolution ; for, besides many valuable jewels it is said, that he received 200,000 pounds in money. Murzafa-jing gave 50,000 pounds to be divided among the officers and troops who had fought at the battle of Gingee, and paid 50,000 pounds more into the treasury of the French company, for the expences they had incurred in the war. The long experience of Shanavaze Khan in the administration of the Decan rendering his knowledge necessary

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to the instruction of a new regency, he was invited by Murzafa-jing to enter into his service, and came from Chittapet and made his submission. 1750

Mr. Dupleix and Murzafa-jing separated with professions of mutual gratitude and attachment, and the army left the neighbourhood of Pondicherry on the 4th of January; the French detachment was commanded by Mr. Bussy, and consisted of 300 Europeans, and 2,000 Sepoys, with ten field pieces. The march was continued without interruption until the end of the month, when they arrived in the territory of Cudapah, about sixty leagues from Pondicherry. There some straggling horsemen quarrelled with the inhabitants of a village, and, with the usual licentiousness of the cavalry of Indostan, set fire not only to that, but likewise to two or three other villages in the neighbourhood. The Nabob of Cudapah, pretending to be greatly exasperated by this outrage, ordered a body of his troops to revenge it, by attacking the rear-guard of Murzafa-jing's division. A skirmish ensued, and the troops of Cudapah, overpowered by numbers retreated to their main body. Their attack, whether by chance or design is uncertain, had been directed against that part of the army which escorted the women; so that this defiance was aggravated by the most flagrant affront that the dignity of an Indian prince could receive: for the persons of women of rank are deemed sacred, even in war. Murzafa-jing no sooner heard of this insult, than he ordered his whole army to halt, put himself at the head of a large body of troops, and prepared to march against the Nabob of Cudapah. Mr. Bussy, who had been instructed to avoid, if possible, all occasions of committing hostilities in the rout to Gol-condah interposed, and with much difficulty prevailed on him to suspend his resentment, until the Nabob should explain the reasons of his conduct. Messengers were sent both from Murzafa-jing and Mr. Bussy: to those of Murzafa-jing the Nabob of Cudapah answered, that he waited for their master sword in hand; but to Mr. Bussy he sent word, that he was ready to make submissions to the Soubah through his mediation. The difference of these answers stung this prince to the quick, and nothing could now stop him from proceeding to take

 instant

1750 instant revenge. He told Mr. Bussy, who still attempted to calm him, that every Pitan in his army was a traitor born; and in a very few minutes the truth of his assertion was confirmed: for his spies brought intelligence, that the troops of all the three Nabobs were drawn up together in battle-array; that they were posted to defend a defile which lay in the road of the army, and that several posts leading to the defile were defended by cannon, which had been brought thither some days before. These preparations left no doubt that the rebellion of the Nabobs was premeditated; and indeed they had began to concert it from the very hour that they had taken the oath of allegiance in Pondicherry. Murzafa-jing, in full march at the head of his cavalry, grew impatient of the slow pace of the French battalion, and hurried away to attack the rebels without their assistance. The Pitan Nabobs had in their service many of their own countrymen, who, although much inferior in number, stood the shock with great intrepidity, and had even repulsed his troops before Mr. Bussy came up. The fire of the French artillery, after a severe slaughter, changed the fortune of the day, and obliged the Pitans to retreat; when Murzafa-jing, irritated by the repulse he had sustained, rallied his troops, and heedless of the remonstrances of Mr. Bussy, pursued the fugitives, and left once more the French battalion behind, who endeavoured to keep in sight of him, but in vain: they soon after came up to some of his troops, who were cutting to pieces the body of the Nabob of Savanore dead on the ground. The Nabob of Cudapah had fled out of the field desperately wounded, and in pursuing him, Murzafa-jing came up with the Nabob of Canoul, who finding he could not escape, turned with the handful of troops that surrounded him, and pushed on towards the elephant of his enemy. Exasperated by this defiance, the young prince made a sign to his troops to leave the person of the Nabob to be attacked by himself. The two elephants were driven up close to each other, and Murzafa-jing had his sword uplifted to strike, when his antagonist thrusting his javelin, drove the point through his forehead into the brain; he fell back dead: a thousand arms were aimed at the Nabob, who was in the same

instant

instant mortally wounded; and the troops, not satisfied with this 1750 atonement, fell with fury on those of the Nabob, whom they soon overpowered, and cut to pieces. The French battalion was preparing to hail them returning from the field with acclamations of victory, when the news of Murzafa-jing's fate struck them with the deepest consternation. They immediately marched back to the camp, which they found in the utmost confusion; for large arrears of pay were due to the army; and it was to be apprehended that the soldiery would mutiny and plunder, and every general suspected all the others of sinister intentions.

But this disaster affected no interest more severely than that of the French; for by it were annihilated all the advantages which were gained by the murder of Nazir-jing: and Mr. Bussy was left without pretensions to interfere any farther in the concerns of the Decan. This officer saw all the desperate consequences of his present situation without losing his presence of mind: he assembled the generals and ministers, and found them as ready as himself to admit of any expedient by which the loss of their sovereign might be repaired. Besides the son of Murzafa-jing, an infant, there were in the camp three brothers of Nazir-jing, whom that prince had brought into the Carnatic under strict confinement, to prevent their engaging in revolts during his absence; and after his death they were continued under the same restraint by Murzafa-jing. Mr. Bussy proposed, that the vacant dignity of Soubah should be conferred on the eldest of the brothers, by name Salabat-jing; and the generals, from a sense of the convulsions to which the reign of a minor would be exposed, readily acquiesced to the exclusion of Murzafa-jing's son, and unanimously approved of Mr. Bussy's advice. It was immediately carried into execution, the three princes were released from their confinement, and Salabat-jing was proclaimed Soubah of the Decan, with the universal consent of the army. His elevation, and the signal catastrophe of this day, in which three of the conspirators of Nazir-jing's death fell in battle fighting against each other, were regarded as a retribution of the divine justice.

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1750 Mr. Bussy immediately advised Mr. Dupleix of this revolution, and of the dispositions which he had made in favour of Salabat-jing, who agreed to confirm all the cessions made by his predecessor, and to give still greater advantages to the French nation. On these conditions, Mr. Dupleix acknowledged his right to the Soubahship, with as much ardor as he had asserted that of Murzafa-jing; and as soon as this approbation was received, the army left the country of Cudapah, and continued its march to Gol-condah.

END *of the* SECOND BOOK.

BOOK III.

THE nations of Coromandel, accustomed to see Europeans assuming no other character than that of merchants, and paying as much homage to the Mogul government as was exacted from themselves, were astonished at the rapid progress of the French arms, and beheld with admiration the abilities of Mr. Dupleix, who had shewn himself at once as great an adept in the politics of Indostan, as if he had been educated a Mahomedan lord at the court of Delhi : knowing the rivalship which existed between the two nations, they were equally surprized at the indolence of the English, who, since the retreat of their troops from Mahomed-ally at Trivadi, had taken no measures to interrupt the progress of his schemes ; and indeed this inactivity, at so critical a conjuncture, is difficult to be accounted for, unless it be imputed to their dread of engaging, without authority from England, in open hostilities against the French immediately after the conclusion of a general peace in Europe. Whatever might be the motives, their disposition to remain in peace was so great, that major Lawrence himself, who commanded the troops, and had great influence in their councils, left Fort St. David on some private concerns, and sailed for England in the month of October. The assassination of Nazir-jing and its consequences overwhelmed them with astonishment, and made them sensible, when too late, of the errors they had committed in not continuing a body of their troops with the army of that prince. There remained, even after his death, a means of snatching from the conquerors their laurels, and the fruits of their victory ; for Murzafa- 1751

jing,

1751 jing, with his uncle's treasures, moved from Gingee with only a detachment of his own army and 300 of the French troops, who marching without apprehension of danger, observed little military order: Mr. Benjamin Robins, at that time just arrived from England to superintend the company's fortifications as engineer-general, proposed to the governor, Mr. Saunders, that 800 Europeans should march out and attack them in their return: discovering in this advice the same sagacity which had distinguished his speculations in the abstruser sciences, and which renders his name an honour to our country; for there is the greatest probability that the attack, if well conducted, would have succeeded, and the treasures of Nazir-jing have been carried to Fort St. David, instead of Pondicherry. Mr. Saunders much approved the project, but when captain Cope, the commander of the troops, proposed it to the officers, they unanimously declared it rash and impracticable.

Mahomed-ally, still more perplexed and dispirited than the English, had no hopes of preservation but in their assistance, which he pressingly solicited at the same time that he was capitulating with Mr. Dupleix for the surrender of Tritchinopoly: and the English, apprehensive of the conclusion of such a treaty, which would have left them without any pretence to oppose Mr. Dupleix and Chunda-saheb, at last took the resolution of sending once more to Tritchinopoly a detachment to encourage Mahomed-ally to defend the city; it consisted of 280 Europeans, with 300 Sepoys, who arrived there under the command of captain Cope in the beginning of February.

About the same time Chunda-saheb marched from Pondicherry with an army of 8,000 men, horse and foot, which he had levied in the province, joined by a battalion of 800 Europeans; and with this force proceeded to Arcot, where he received homage as Nabob; and there was scarce a strong hold to the north of the river Coleroon of which the governor did not acknowledge his sovereignty. Mortiz-ally of Velore, who had temporized, and affected obedience to Nazir-jing from the time that prince entered the Carnatic, immediately after his death reassumed his connexion with his relation Chunda-saheb, and was the first to reacknowledge him; and his example determined most of the other chiefs.

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The countries lying between the Coleroon and the extremity of 1751
the peninsula did not openly throw off their allegiance to Mahomed-ally, but were lukewarm in his interests: he therefore sent 2500 horse, and 3000 Peans, under the command of his brother Abdul-rahim, together with a detachment of 30 Europeans, to settle the government of Tinivelly, a city lying 160 miles to the south of Tritchinopoly, and capital of a territory which extends to cape Comorin. Abdul-rahim met with no resistance from the people of the country, but found it difficult to restrain his troops from revolt; for most of the officers being renters, were indebted to their prince as much as he was indebted to their soldiers, and expected as the price of their defection that Chunda-saheb would not only remit what they owed to the government, but likewise furnish money for the pay of their troops. However, great promises, and the vigilance of lieutenant Innis, who commanded the English detachment, prevented them from carrying their schemes into execution; but the same spirit of revolt manifested itself more openly in another part of Mahomed-ally's dominions.

Allum Khan, a soldier of fortune, who had formerly been in the service of Chunda-saheb, and afterwards in that of the king of Tanjore, had lately left this prince and came to Madura, where his reputation as an excellent officer soon gained him influence and respect, which he employed to corrupt the garrison, and succeeded so well, that the troops created him governor, and consented to maintain the city under his authority for Chunda-saheb, whom he acknowledged as his sovereign.

The country of Madura lies between those of Tritchinopoly and Tinivelly, and is as extensive as either of them. The city was in ancient times the residence of a prince who was sovereign of all the three. Its form is nearly a square 4000 yards in circumference, fortified with a double wall and a ditch. The loss of this place, by cutting off the communication between Tritchinopoly and the countries of Tinivelly, deprived Mahomed-ally of more than one half of the dominions which at this time remained under his jurisdiction. On receiving the news, captain Cope offered his service to retake it. His detachment was ill equipped for a siege, for they had brought no battering cannon from Fort St. David, and there were but two

1751 serviceable pieces in the city : with one of these, three field pieces, two cohorns, and 150 Europeans, he marched away, accompanied by 600 of the Nabob's cavalry, commanded by another of his brothers Abdul-wahab Khan ; and on the day that they arrived in sight of Madura, they were joined by the army returning from Tinivelly. There were several large breaches in the outward wall ; the gun fired through one of them on the inward wall, and in two days demolished a part of it, although not sufficient to make the breach accessible without the help of fascines. Difficult as it was, it was necessary either to storm it immediately, or to relinquish the siege, for all the shot of the great gun were expended. The Sepoys, encouraged by a distribution of some money, and a promise of much more if the place should be taken, went to the attack with as much spirit as the Europeans. The first wall was passed without resistance, and at the foot of the breach in the second appeared three champions, one of them a very bulky man in compleat armour, who fought manfully with their swords, and wounded several of the forlorn hope, but were at last with difficulty killed. Whilst the troops were mounting the breach, they were severely annoyed by arrows, stones, and the fire of matchlocks ; notwithstanding which they gained the parapet, where the enemy had on each side of the entrance raised a mound of earth, on which they had laid horizontally some palm trees separated from each other, and through these intervals they thrust their pikes. At the bottom of the rampart within the wall, they had made a strong retrenchment, with a ditch ; and three or four thousand men appeared ready to defend this work with all kinds of arms. The troops, wounded by the pikes as fast as they mounted, were not able to keep possession of the parapet, and after fighting until ninety men were disabled, relinquished the attack. Four Europeans were killed : the Sepoys suffered more, and four of their captains were desperately wounded. The next day captain Cope prepared to return to Tritchinopoly, and blew the cannon to pieces, for want of means to carry it away. The troops of Mahomed-ally, encouraged by this repulse, no longer concealed their disaffectien and 500 horse, with 1000 Peons, went over to Allum Khan before the English broke up their camp, and two or three days after near 2000 more horsemen deserted

deserted likewise to the enemy. At the same time that the army and dominions of Mahomed-ally were thus reduced, he received advice that Chunda-saheb was preparing to march from Arcot to besiege Tritchinopoly; he now more strenuously represented his distresses to the presidency of Fort St. David, offering to give the company a territory of considerable revenue contiguous to the bounds of Madrass, and promising likewise to defray all the expenses of their assistance. 1751

It was the time of harvest, which on the coast of Coromandel is divided equally between the lord of the land and the cultivator; and Mr. Dupleix affected to distinguish his new acquisitions, by ordering small white flags to be planted almost in every field to which he laid claim: these flags were seen from Fort St. David extending round the bounds, and some of them were even planted within the company's territory: the insolence of these marks of sovereignty stung the English, and rouzed them from their lethargy: they concluded that Mr. Dupleix, from the same spirit of dominion, would not fail to impose extravagant duties on their trade passing through the countries of which he had taken possession; and this reflection convincing them that their own ruin would be blended with that of Mahomed-ally, they determined to accept the offers he made, and to support his cause to the utmost of their power.

In the beginning of April a body of 500 Europeans, of which 50 were cavalry, and 100 Caffres, 1000 Sepoys, with eight field pieces, took the field under the command of captain Gingen, who was ordered to remain near Fort St. David until he should be joined by Mahomed-ally's troops from Tritchinopoly: for the English were determined not to appear as principals in the war. After waiting six weeks, captain Gingen was joined by 600 horse and 1000 Peons; he then proceeded to the westward, and came in sight of Verdachelum, a large and strong pagoda garrisoned by 300 of Chunda-saheb's troops: this place is situated 40 miles from the coast, and commands the high road; the reduction of it was therefore necessary to preserve the communication with Fort St. David: the garrison were summoned by the Nabob's officer to deliever up

1751 the place: they refused, and mann'd the walls. The English troops, under cover of a bank, fired at them for some hours, but finding that this attack made little impression, they prepared towards evening to make a general assault, when the sight of the scaling ladders induced the governor to surrender. Leaving a garrison of twenty Europeans and fifty Sepoys in the pagoda, they continued their march to the westward, and were soon after joined by 100 Europeans detached by captain Cope from Tritchinopoly, and 2000 horse, with 2000 foot, the remainder of the Nabob's troops, under the command of his brother Abdul-wahab Khan.

The army, after this junction came in sight of that of Chunda-saheb, which lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Vol-condah. This is a very strong fortress, 90 miles from the coast, situated in the great road between Arcot and Tritchinopoly: its principal defence is a rock 200 feet high, and about a mile in circumference at the bottom, where it is inclosed by a high and strong wall, mostly cut out of the solid rock; near the summit it is enclosed by another wall, and the summit itself is surrounded by a third: adjoining to the eastern side of the rock, on the plain, is a fort built of stone, contiguous to which lies a town slenderly fortified with a mud wall. The river Val-aru, after running due east, forms an angle about a mile to the north of Vol-condah, where it turns to the south, and in this direction passess close by the western side of the rock, and winding round it, reassumes its course to the eastward along the southren side of the fort and town. Captain Gingen encamped in a large grove about a mile and a half to the southwest of Vol-condah: and in this situation the advanced guards were in sight of those of Chunda-saheb, whose camp lay about four miles to the north of that part of the river which runs east before it strikes to the south. Here he had been some days endeavouring to persuade the governor to put him in possession of the fort; and Abdul-wahab Khan, equally sensible of the importance of the place, made offers likewise to induce him to deliver it up to Mahomed-ally. The man knowing the advantage of his post, had given evasive answers to Chunda-saheb; and replied to Abdul-wahab Kahn, that he waited to see a battle before he gave

up

up his fort to either; but nevertheless he entered into a negociation 1751
with both, which lasted a fortnight, and during this time neither of the armies made any motion: at length captain Gingen, irritated by his prevarications, determined to treat him as an enemy; but before he proceeded to hostilities, posted the army about a mile to the north-west of the rock of Vol-condah, where they were in readiness to intercept the approach of Chunda-saheb; for it was not doubted that the governor would call him to his assistance, as soon as he should be attacked. This disposition being made, a large detachment of Europeans and Sepoys marched about nine in the evening, who easily got over the mud-wall, and then setting fire to the town, advanced to the stone fort; but this they found too strong to be assaulted before a breach was made, and therefore returned to the camp. The governor, as was foreseen, immediately sent a messenger to acquaint Chunda-saheb that he was ready to admit his troops into the place.

The next morning, at break of day, the French battalion was discovered marching towards the rock along the bed of the river, which was almost dry; and the Indian army of Chunda-saheb, which had been augmented at Arcot to 12,000 horse and 5,000 Sepoys, appeared at the same time. Notwithstanding these motions, the English officers wasted so much time in deliberation, that the French battalion arrived near the foot of the rock, and formed before any attempt was made to intercept them; when too late, it was determined to give the enemy battle. The troops had perceived the hesitations of the council of war, and were so much affected by them that they marched to the enemy with irresolution. As they approached, a cannonade ensued, and a shot struck one of the French tumbrils, which blowing up wounded some of their Europeans, and frightened so much a hundred more, who were posted near it, that they ran away with Mr. d'Auteuil at their head to the fort of Vol-condah, where they were admitted; and from hence they immediately began to fire from 14 pieces of of cannon upon the English battalion. This unexpected cannonade, notwithstanding that most of their shot flew too high, flung the troops into disorder, and some of the officers likewise discovering fear, the whole battalion were seized with a

 panic.

1751 panic. The captains Gingen, Dalton, Kilpatrick, and lieutenant Clive, endeavoured to rally them, but in vain; for they retreated in great confusion, without stopping until they reached the camp. Abdul-wahab Khan rode up and upbraided them in the strongest terms for their cowardice, bidding them take example from his own troops, who still stood their ground: and to compleat the shame of this day, the company of Caffres remained likewise on the field for some time, and then marched off in good order, bringing away the dead and wounded. Had they behaved with common resolution, the enemy would probably have been defeated; for Abdul-wahab Khan had prevailed on one of their generals, who commanded 4,000 horse, to come over to him on the field of battle, which body was observed to separate from the rest as the enemy approached; and this appearance of defection flung Chunda-saheb into such perplexity, that he did not venture to pursue the English, over whom he would otherwise have had every advantage.

The panic did not cease with the day, but operated so strongly that captain Gingen, to avoid worse consequences, determined to remove the troops from the sight of an enemy they so much dreaded, and at midnight broke up the camp, and marching with great expedition in the road leading to Tritchinopoly, arrived the next evening at the streights of Utatoor, distant about 25 miles from that city: a part of the range of mountains which bounds the province of Arcot to the westward, forms one side of these streights, and some hills about a mile to the east, the other: the ground for several miles farther eastward is covered with rocks, which render them impassable to an army encumbered with carriages. The company of grenadiers consisting of 100 men, together with 100 Caffres and Topasses, with two field pieces, were left under the command of captain Dalton, in a village at the entrance of the streights: the main body encamped in the valley; and in order to secure the rear of the camp, some Europeans were placed in the fort of Utatoor, which lies about two miles south of the streights.

The next day the enemy took the same rout, and for the conveniency of water halted about eight miles from the streights. A few days after

after about 100 of their horse appeared in sight of the village 1751 riding about and flourishing their sabres in defiance : captain Gingen, with several of the principal officers of the battalion, happened at this time to be there, who were so much offended at this bravado, that seven of them mounted their horses, and sallied with 12 troopers and 100 Sepoys to attack the party : they retreated as the English approached, sometimes halting as if they intended to stand the shock, and in this manner led them three miles from the village, when they galloped away at full speed and disappeared. The English had not proceeded a mile in their return to the camp, when they discovered a body of near 3,000 horse coming out of a neighbouring thicket, where they were posted in ambuscade, and from hence had detached the party which appeared at the village. The Sepoys were ordered to disperse, and the horsemen forming into a compact body, pushed forwards so briskly, that only four or five of the enemy's squadrons had time to fling themselves in their way : these were attacked sword in hand, and the troops cut their way through, but not without the loss of lieutenant Maskelyne and three troopers, who were made prisoners ; the rest gained the village ; but all the Sepoys were either killed or taken. Mr Maskelyne was soon after released by Chunda-saheb, to whom he gave his parole ; for the French, who were at this time as cautious as the English of appearing principals in the war, affected to have no authority over the prisoners. The ill success of this inconsiderate excursion, encreased the diffidence which the soldiers entertained of their officers ; who began likewise to disagree amongst themselves, concurring in nothing but in thinking that the enemy were much too strong for them.

The next day Chunda-saheb encamped within five miles of the village, and employed two days in reconnoitring the ground quite up to the streights. On the third, the 13th of July, their whole army was discovered advancing in battle-array. Several parties of cavalry preceded the line, and came on each flank of the village ; and soon after appeared a body of 4,000 Sopoys with seven pieces of cannon, supported by a company of 100 Topasses ; these marched up slowly and in good order : the cavalry brought up the rear ; and were soon after rejoined by the other parties which had been sent forward, excepting a few

1751 few squadrons which galloped on, and stationed themselves between the village and the streights. Captain Dalton had began to fire from his two field pieces, when he received orders to quit his post, and join the main body, which had advanced a little way from the camp to favour his retreat: the near approach of the enemy now rendered the execution of this order liable to many difficulties; however to conceal his intentions from them as long as possible, he first drew up the greatest part of his detachment out of their sight behind the village, and then ordered the two field pieces to be sent to him; after which the rest of the detachment marched through the village and joined him. Thus the whole body formed before the enemy discovered their intention: as soon as they were convinced of it, their Sepoys rushed through the village, and began to fire from the huts on the rear of the English party, who had scarcely got out of reach of this fire, when the enemy's whole cavalry, divided into two bodies, came galloping round each side of the village, and surrounded them: the men did not lose courage, and by a heavy fire obliged them to retreat into the village. The detachment moving slowly on toward the camp, had not proceeded far before the enemy, horse and foot, returned to the charge, and surrounded them again. The Caffres, Topasses, and a platoon of Europeans kept up a constant fire, whilst the grenadiers continually presented and recovered their arms, preserving their fire for the last extremity; and by this reserve constantly deterred the cavalry from charging: in this manner they made their retreat good to the entrance of the streights, where the ground being rocky, hindered the enemy's horse from continuing in compact squadrons. The detachment, now reinforced by two platoons from the main body, halted more frequently, giving their whole fire at once, and joined their army in good order, bringing off their killed and wounded, which were fifteen men. The enemy following them, were insensibly led within a small distance of the whole force now united with eight pieces of cannon in front; they at first appeared determined to stand their ground, and bring on a general action; but finding themselves severely galled by the artillery, which, together with the whole line, advanced upon them, they gave way, and lost 300 men before they got out of cannon-shot:

shot: their cannon were ill served, and did but little damage, and the French battalion never appeared until the firing ceased, when they were discovered taking possession of the village, in the rear of which the rest of the army likewise pitched their tents. 1751

Altho' the post in the streights was deemed defensible, it was feared from the great superiority of Chunda-saheb's cavalry and Sepoys, that he would detach a body of men, and post it between the camp and Tritchinopoly, from which city the army drew all its provisions across the two largest rivers in the Carnatic. From this apprehension it was determined to retreat without delay, and the army decamped silently in the night; they never halted till two the next day, fatigued to excess with a march of eighteen hours, performed without refreshment in the hottest season of this sultry climate, and after the fatigues they had endured in the action of the preceding day. Luckily the enemy's cavalry were so dispirited with the loss they then sustained, that they never attempted to interrupt the retreat: they however followed at a distance, and before night took post within three miles of the army, which was now arrived within sight of Tritchinopoly, and encamped close to the northern bank of the Coleroon.

This river is a principal arm of another called the Caveri, which has its source in the mountains within thirty miles of Mangalore on the coast of Malabar, and passing through the kingdom of Mysore, runs 400 miles before it reaches Tritchinopoly. About five miles to the north-west of this city the Caveri divides itself into two principal arms. The northern is called the Coleroon, and disembogues at Devi-Cotah: the other retains the name of Caveri; and about twenty miles to the eastward of Tritchinopoly begins to send forth several large branches, all of which pass through the kingdom of Tanjore, and are the cause of the great fertility of that country. For several miles after the separation, the banks of the Coleroon and Caveri are in no part two miles asunder, in many scarcely one; and at Coiladdy, a fort fifteen miles to the east of Tritchinopoly, the two streams approach so near to each other, that the people of the country have been obliged to fling up a large and strong mound of earth to keep them from uniting again. The long slip of land enclosed by the two channels between Coiladdy and the place where

1751 the two streams first separate, is called the island of Seringham, famous throughout Indostan for the great pagoda from which it derives its name. This temple is situated about a mile from the western extremity of the island, at a small distance from the bank of the Coleroon : it is composed of seven square inclosures, one within the other, the walls of which are 25 feet high, and four thick. These inclosures are 350 feet distant from one another, and each has four large gates with a high tower ; which are placed, one in the middle of each side of the inclosure, and opposite to the four cardinal points. The outward wall is near four miles in circumference, and its gateway to the south is ornamented with pillars, several of which are single stones 33 feet long, and nearly five in diameter ; and those which form the roof are still larger : in the inmost inclosure are the chapels. About half a mile to the east of Seringham, and nearer to the Caveri than the Coleroon, is another large pagoda called Jumbakistna : but this has only one inclosure. The extreme veneration in which Seringham is held, arises from a belief that it contains that identical image of the god Wistchnu, which used to be worshipped by the gôd Brama. Pilgrims from all parts of the peninsula come here to obtain absolution, and none come without an offering of money ; and a large part of the revenue of the island is allotted for the maintenance of the Bramins who inhabit the pagoda ; and these, with their families, formerly composed a multitude, not less than 40,000 souls, maintained without labour by the liberality of superstition. Here, as in all the other great pagodas of India, the Bramins live in a subordination which knows no resistance, and slumber in a voluptuousness which knows no wants ; and, sensible of the happiness of their condition, they quit not the silence of their retreats to mingle in the tumults of the state ; nor point the brand, flaming from the altar, against the authority of the sovereign, or the tranquility of the government. This repose was now doomed to be much disturbed, and the temple to endure such pollutions as it had never before been exposed to.

The English battalion took possession of Pitchandah, a fortified pagoda situated on the northern bank of the Coleroon, about a mile to the east of Seringham : the rest of the army encamped along the

 river

river near the pagoda. The camp was only accessible by the high road; for the rest of the ground was laid out in rice fields, which being at this season overflowed, formed a morass not to be passed by cavalry: but the army soon found difficulties in getting provisions which could now only be brought from the opposite shore under the protection of the guns of the camp, and it was feared that this distress would be greatly increased by the enemy's sending a strong detachment across the river to take possession of the great pagoda. It was therefore resolved to prevent them, and orders were given for the whole army to cross the river. 1751

The Coleroon, like all the other rivers on the coast of Coromandel, is subject to very sudden and unforeseen alterations, which depend on the rains that fall on the mountains of the Malabar coast; so that in the space of twenty-four hours it often, from being fordable, becomes almost impassable even by boats; and at this time it was scarcely fordable, and very rapid. The ammunition and stores were transported before day-light in two large flat boats, kept by the government of Tritchinopoly to ferry over horses. The troops then followed with the field-pieces: and the retreat was not discovered by the enemy until the last boat, with four of the field pieces, was passing. This stuck upon a sand-bank, and the enemy brought down their guns, and cannonaded it; on which it was abandoned by the boatmen; but the grenadiers, who formed the rear-guard, brought it off, and the whole army passed without any other loss than that of two or three tumbrils, and one small iron gun belonging to the Nabob.

The English troops, as well as those of the Nabob, entered the pagoda, and were admitted with great reluctance into three of the first inclosures, which affording room much more than sufficient for their reception, they complied with the earnest sollicitations of the Bramins, imploring them to carry the stain of their pollutions no nearer the habitation of the idol. It was evident this post might have been defended against the enemy's whole force, since the cannon of Tritchinopoly and those in the pagoda were near enough to have kept the communication open: but the spirit of retreat still so strongly possessed the army, that they suspected the outward wall of Seringham to be in a ruinous condition, and thought the extent of it too great to be de-

1751 fended by so small a force. Indeed the English battalion was now reduced to 400 men, and the Nabob's troops could not be depended on. It was therefore determined, as the last resource, to take shelter under the walls of Tritchinopoly, and this resolution was put in execution two days after the army took possession of Seringham.

The city of Tritchinopoly lies about 90 miles inland from the coast, and is situated within half a mile of the southern bank of the Caveri, and about a mile and a half south-east from Seringham. It is a parallelogram, of which the east and west sides extend near 2000 yards, and the north and south about 1200. It has a double inclosure of walls, each of which are flanked by round towers, built at equal distances from one another: the outward wall is 18 feet high, and about five feet thick, without rampart or parapet: the inward is much stronger, being 30 feet high, with a rampart of stone decreasing by large steps from the ground to the top, where it is 10 feet broad, and has a thin parapet of stone about seven feet high, in which are loop holes to fire through. There is an interval between the two walls of 25 feet, and before the outward a ditch 30 feet wide and 12 deep, unequally supplied with water at different seasons, but never quite dry. In the northern part of the city stands a rock 150 feet high, from which the adjacent country is discovered for many miles round.

The English battalion encamped on the west side of the city close to the ditch, and the Nabob's troops on the southern side: captain Cope, with 100 of the Europeans sent thither in the beginning of the year, remained within the walls.

Chunda-saheb and the French took possession of Seringham, soon after it was evacuated by the Nabob's army; and in the beginning of August they sent a strong detachment to attack Coiladdy, a mud fort about a mile to the east of the great bank which terminates the island of Seringham, and the only post which still held out for the Nabob. Captain Gingen, informed of this motion, detached 20 Europeans and 100 Sepoys, under the command of ensign Trusler, to reinforce the garrison. This officer defended the fort very gallantly for several days, until it was so shattered as to be no longer tenable: he then received orders to draw off his men in the night; and a detachment

tachment of 200 Europeans were sent to post themselves opposite to the fort on the southern bank of the Caveri, in order to cover his retreat: but the Sepoys, instead of passing the river a few at a time, whilst the Europeans were firing from the wall to amuse the enemy, threw themselves precipitately into the water all together, every one pressing to get over to the covering party as fast as he could. Their noise in this confusion discovered them to the enemy, who increased it by firing upon them, and at the same time prepared to assault the fort; upon which the Europeans likewise plunged into the river, and throwing away their arms, with difficulty joined the covering party. This success determined Chunda-saheb to cross the Caveri, and leaving a garrison in Seringham, he encamped with the rest of his army to the east of Tritchinopoly. 1751

The presidency of Fort St. David saw, with great anxiety, their efforts to support Mahomed-ally, frustrated by the retreat of his army out of the Carnatic, where he now no longer possessed a single district: and Verdachelum, the only fort to the north of the Coleroon which acknowledged him, was invested by the troops of a neighbouring polygar. The ships from Europe having brought some recruits, a detachment of 80 Europeans and 300 Sepoys, with a large convoy of stores, were sent from Fort St. David in the middle of July to relieve it; but every good officer being already in the field, there remained none in the garrison to whom such a command could be prudently intrusted. The governor Mr. Saunders therefore requested Mr. Pigot, one of the council, and a man of resolution, to proceed with the detachment until it should be out of risque of enemies, and then to send it forward under the command of the military officer to Tritchinopoly. Lieutenant Clive likewise resolved to accompany this detachment. This young man, soon after the reduction of Devi-Cotah, had reassumed the mercantile service of the company, in which he first went to India; and from that time had held the office of commissary for supplying the European troops with provisions. In the prosecution of this employment, as well as from his love of enterprize, he had accompanied the army from the beginning of this campaign, until they began to retreat before the enemy at Vol-condah. The detachment surprized the Polygar's troops at midnight, who took flight at the

first.

1751 first fire, and the convoy entered Verdachelum without any loss. From hence Mr. Pigot sent the detachment through the country of Tanjore to reinforce the battalion at Tritchinopoly, which they joined without interruption; The French at this time not having crossed the Caveri. He then returned from Verdachelum to Fort St. David, accompanied by Mr. Clive, 12 Sepoys, and as many servants: in their way they were surrounded by the Polygar's troops, who with matchlocks harassed this little party some hours, and killed seven of the Sepoys, and several of the attendants. The ammunition of the rest being expended, they were ordered to disperse, and Mr. Pigot and Clive saved themselves by the speed of their horses from a party of cavalry, who pursued them several miles.

In the middle of July the presidency prepared to send another reinforcement to Tritchinopoly, where the discontent which prevailed amongst the officers made it necessary to remove several of them at a time when there were very few fit to succeed to their posts: a captain's commission was therefore given to Mr. Clive, who proceeded with a detachment into the country of Tanjore, where he was joined by another from Devi-Cotah, under the command of Captain Clarke, who took the command of the whole, which, united, consisted of only 100 Europeans, and 50 Sepoys, with one small field piece. The king of Tanjore, like all other Indian princes, cautious of declaring whilst the event remained doubtful, suffered both the English and French troops to march through his country to Tritchinopoly: and this being the only rout by which the English from the sea-coast could now gain the city, the fort of Devi-Cotah began to acquire an importance not foreseen when they took it. The French detached from Coiladdy 30 Europeans and 500 Sepoys, who came in sight of the English party near the village of Condore, situated ten miles to the north of Tanjore; the high road led through the village, and both anxious to get possession of it, entered it hastily at the same time at different ends. A skirmish ensued, in which the French officer was desperately wounded, and 10 of his Europeans were killed, on which the rest with the Sepoys took flight; and the English making a circuit of several miles to avoid the enemy's camp, arrived safe at the city.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding these reinforcements, the English battalion at Tritchinopoly did not exceed 600 men; whereas the French had 900, and the troops of Chunda-saheb outnumbered the Nabob's ten to one. The strength of the city indeed rendered the reduction of it very difficult; but the Nabob's army, at the same time that they were incapable of retrieving his affairs, exhausted his treasures, and his revenues were daily cut off by the enemy taking possession of the countries which furnished them. 1751

Captain Clive, on his return from Tritchinopoly in the beginning of August, represented this situation of affairs to the presidency, and proposed, as the only resource, to attack the possessions of Chunda-saheb in the territory of Arcot; offering to lead the expedition himself, which he doubted not would cause a diversion of part of the enemy's force from Tritchinopoly. Fort St. David and Madrass were left, the one with 100, the other with less than 50 men, in order to supply the greatest force that could be collected for this enterprize. The detachment, when compleated, nevertheless, consisted of no more than 300 Sepoys and 200 Europeans, with eight officers, six of whom had never before been in action, and four of these six were young men in the mercantile service of the company, who, inflamed by his example, took up the sword to follow him. This handful of men, with only three field pieces for their artillery, marched from Madrass on the 26th of August, and on the 29th arrived at Conjeveram, a considerable town with a large pagoda, lying about 40 miles inland, where they received intelligence that the fort of Arcot was garrisoned by 1100 men; on which captain Clive wrote to Madrass, desiring that two 18 pounders might be sent after him without delay. On the 31st he halted within 10 miles of Arcot, where the enemy's spies reported, that they had discovered the English marching with unconcern through a violent storm of thunder, lightning, and rain; and this circumstance, from their notions of omens, gave the garrison so high an opinion of the fortitude of the approaching enemy, that they instantly abandoned the fort, and a few hours after the English entered the city, which had no walls or defences; and marching through 100,000 spectators, who gazed on them with admiration and respect, took possession of the fort, in which they found a large quantity of lead and gun-

1751 gun-powder, with 8 pieces of cannon, from 4 to 8 pounders. The merchants had, for security, deposited in the fort effects to the value of 50,000 pounds, but these were punctually restored to the owners; and this judicious abstemiousness conciliated many of the principal inhabitants to the English interest. The fort was inhabited by 3 or 4000 persons, who, at their own request, were permitted to remain in their dwellings.

Captain Clive made it his first care to collect such provisions and materials as might enable him to sustain a siege; and foreseeing that the enemy would soon recover from their fright, and return into the town, if he confined himself to the fort, determined to go in quest of them; and on the 4th of September marched out with the greatest part of his men, and four field pieces: in the afternoon he discovered the fugitive garrison, consisting of 600 horse and 500 foot, drawn up near Timery, a fort situated 6 miles south-west of the city. They had a field piece, managed by two or three Europeans, from which they fired at a great distance, and killed a camel and wounded a Sepoy: but as soon as they saw the English within musket-shot, retreated to the hills in their rear; upon which the English returned to the fort.

The troops marched out again on the 6th, and found the enemy drawn up within gun-shot of Timery, in a grove, inclosed with a bank and a ditch; about 50 yards in front of which was a large tank, surrounded likewise with a bank much higher than that of the grove; but by age and neglect the tank itself was almost choaked up and dry. Their number now appeared to be 2000, and they had two field pieces, which fired smartly as the English advanced, and killed three Europeans; on which accident the line advanced more briskly towards the enemy, who frightened by the vivacity of their approach, did not think themselves safe in the grove, but hurried with precipitation into the tank, and began to fire from the banks, exposing so little of their bodies that the English fire did no execution amongst them, whilst theirs wounded several of the Europeans and Sepoys. The troops were therefore ordered to move behind some neighbouring buildings, from which ensign Glass was soon after detached with a platoon of 40 men, to attack one side of the tank, whilst another, under the command of lieutenant Bulkley, pushed to attack the enemy in front. Both gained the banks, and gave their

their fire at the same instant, amongst numbers crowded together in the tank; which immediately put them to flight. The troops then took possession of the village under the walls of the fort, and summoned the governor. Messages passed, during which his spies discovered that the English had no battering cannon, which intelligence determined him not to surrender. Several shells were therefore thrown into the fort from a cohorn mortar, which proving ineffectual, the troops marched back to Arcot, and the enemy's cavalry hovered round them as they retreated, but kept out of the reach of their fire. 1751

The garrison remained in the fort 10 days, diligently employed in many necessary works; and the enemy, now augmented to 3000 men, imputing this intermission of their sallies to fear, encamped within three miles of the town, giving out that they intended to besiege the fort. Captain Clive determined to take advantage of their security; and on the 14th of September marched out, two hours after midnight, with the greatest part of his garrison, and entering their camp by surprize, found them, as he expected, asleep. The troops beat up the camp from one end to the other, firing continually on numbers taking flight on all sides with shrieks and confusion: the terror was so great that very few made use of their arms, and even these few, after a single discharge made at random, mingled with the rest of the fugitives; and when the day broke, none of them remained in sight. This success was obtained without the loss of a man.

The two 18 pounders, which had been demanded from Madrass, with some military stores, were at this time on the road, but escorted only by a few Sepoys; and the enemy hoping to intercept them, sent a large detachment, which took possession of the great pagoda of Conjeveram: 30 Europeans and 50 Sepoys, with a field piece, were sent from the fort to dislodge them, and on their arrival found the pagoda abandoned; the enemy having retreated to a fort in the neighbourhood, where they were continually reinforced from the main body. Much depending on the safe arrival of the convoy, captain Clive, reserving only 30 Europeans and 50 Sepoys for the guard of the fort, sent all the rest to strengthen the detachment which escorted it. On this the enemy changed their design, and re-

1751 turned hastily to the city in expectation that an assault made on the fort during the absence of so great a part of the garrison, would encourage the inhabitants to rise ; and in this confidence, their whole force, horse and foot, advanced as soon as it was dark, and surrounded the fort. Their musketry, from the adjacent houses, kept a continual fire upon the ramparts ; and this attack producing no effect, a large body of horse and foot advanced promiscuously to the principal gate, endeavouring by outcries, and the noise of their military music, to confound the attention of the garrison, from whom they sustained several discharges of musketry without quitting their ground. At last some grenades were thrown amongst them, the explosion of which frightening the horses, flung their cavalry into such confusion that they galloped away, trampling over the foot : but within an hour they recovered their spirits, and made such another attack at the other gate where they were received and beaten off as at the first point. Their infantry continued their fire until day-break, when the English detachments, with the convoy, entered the town, upon which they abandoned it with precipitation. The inhabitants in the fort, satisfied with the treatment they had received from the garrison, betrayed no symptoms of insurrection during the attack.

The acquisition of the fort of Arcot soon produced the effect which had been expected from it. Chunda-saheb detached 4,000 of his troops, horse and foot, from Tritchinopoly, who in their rout were joined by his son Raja-saheb, with 150 Europeans from Pondicherry, and together with the troops already collected in the neighbourhood of Arcot, entered the city on the 23d of September, and Raja-saheb fixed his head-quarters in the palace of the Nabob.

Captain Clive finding himself on the point of being closely besieged, determined to make one vigorous effort to drive the enemy out of the town, which, if it did not succeed, might at least produce the good effect of impressing them with an opinion of the courage of his men. On the 24th at noon, the greatest part of the garrison, with the four field pieces, sallied out of the north-west gate : this faced a street which, after continuing about seventy yards in a direct line to the north, turned off to the east, and formed another street, at the end of which on the left hand was situated the Nabob's palace. This fronted another street, which striking to the south, continued on the eastern side

side of the fort. The square interval between these three streets and 1751
the northern wall of the fort was filled with buildings and inclosures. Captain Clive intending to place the enemy between two fires, ordered a platoon under the command of ensign Glass to march up the street on the eastern side of the fort, which led up to the palace, and advanced himself with the main body along the street leading from the north-west gate. The French troops, with four field pieces, were drawn up at the end of the cross street in front of the palace. Captain Clive's party no sooner came in sight of them than a hot cannonade ensued in the cross street, at the distance of only 30 yards. The French in a few minutes were driven from their guns, and ran into the palace; but by this time the troops of Raja-saheb had taken possession of all the houses in the street; and secure under this cover, kept up a continual fire from their musketry with such good aim, that 14 men, who pushed to bring away the French guns, were all either killed or wounded. There was on one side of the street a large Choultry: these are buildings intended for the reception of travellers, covered and inclosed on three sides with walls, but open in front, where, instead of a wall, the roof is supported by pillars. Captain Clive to preserve his men, relinquished the intention of bringing off the enemy's cannon, and ordered them to enter the Choultry; from hence the artillery men stepping out and retreating into it immediately after they had performed the services allotted to each of them, continued to load and fire their field pieces until they had recoiled into the north street. The troops then quitting the Choultry, joined their guns and proceeded to the fort without meeting any farther molestation. Ensign Glass's platoon returned at the same time: these had encountered and put to flight 3 or 400 of the enemy's Sepoys, whom they found posted as an advanced guard in an inclosure adjoining to the street through which they intended to pass to the palace; where, by this interruption, they were prevented from arriving in time to render the service expected from them. The garrison suffered this day the loss of 15 Europeans, who were either killed on the spot, or died afterwards of their wounds; amongst them was Lieutenant Trenwith, who perceiving a Sepoy from a window taking aim at captain Clive, pulled him on one side,

1751 upon which the Sepoy, changing his aim, shot lieutenant Trenwith through the body. Lieutenant Revel, the only artillery officer, with 16 other men, was likewise disabled. This sally would be condemned by the rules of war established in Europe, for they forbid the besieged to run such a risque, unless they are assured of greatly outnumbering the party they attack; but it is not reasonable to strain the rules calculated for one system, to the service of another differing so widely from it, as the modes of war in Indostan differ from those in Europe.

The next day Raja-saheb was joined by 2000 men from Veloor, commanded by Mortiz-ally in person; and took possession of all the avenues leading to the fort, which seemed little capable of sustaining the impending siege. Its extent was more than a mile in circumference. The walls were in many places ruinous: the rampart too narrow to admit the firing of artillery; the parapet low and slightly built; several of the towers were decayed, and none of them capable of receiving more than one piece of cannon; the ditch was in most places fordable, in others dry, and in some choaked up: there was between the foot of the walls and the ditch a space about 10 feet broad, intended for a faussebray, but this had no parapet at the scarp of the ditch. The fort had two gates one to the north-west, the other to the east; both of which were large piles of masonry projecting 40 feet beyond the walls, and the passage from these gates was, instead of a draw-bridge, a large causeway crossing the ditch. The garrison had from their arrival employed themselves indefatigably to remove and repair as many of these inconveniences and defects as the smallness of their numbers could attend to. They had endeavoured to burn down several of the nearest houses, but without success; for these having no wood-work in their construction, excepting the beams which supported the ceiling, resisted the blaze: of these houses the enemy's infantry took possession, and began to fire upon the ramparts, and wounded several of the garrison before night, when they retired. At midnight, ensign Glass was sent with 10 men, and some barrels of gun-powder, to blow up two of the houses which most annoyed the fort. This party were let down by ropes over the walls, and entering the houses without being discovered, made the explosion, but with so little skill that it did not produce the intended effect: at their return the rope,

by

by which ensign Glass was getting into the fort, broke, and he was by 1751 the fall rendered incapable of farther duty ; so that, at the beginning of the siege, the garrison was deprived of the service of four of the eight officers who set out on the expedition ; for one was killed, two wounded, and another returned to Madrass ; and the troops fit for duty were diminished to 120 Europeans and 200 Sepoys : these were besieged by 150 Europeans, 2000 Sepoys, 3000 cavalry, and 5000 Peons.

The store of provision in the fort was only sufficient to supply the garrison sixty days, which rendered it necessary to send away all the inhabitants, excepting a few artificers, and the enemy permitted them to pass through their guards without molestation : amongst those who remained was a mason, who had for many years been employed in the fort ; he gave information that there was an aqueduct under ground, known to very few, but which, if discovered by the enemy, would enable them to drain the only reservoir of water in the fort : the man was rewarded for this seasonable intelligence, and employed to prevent the mischief, by choaking up a part of the aqueduct within the walls. For 14 days, the enemy, not yet furnished with battering cannon, carried on the siege by firing from the houses with musketry; and a bombardment from four mortars. The bombardment did little damage, and to avoid the effect of the musketry, none of the garrison were suffered to appear on the ramparts, excepting the few immediately necessary to prevent a surprize : but notwithstanding this precaution, several were killed, and more wounded : for the enemy, secure in the houses, and firing from resting places, took such excellent aim, that they often hit a man when nothing but his head appeared above the parapet ; and in this manner three serjeants were killed, who at different times singly accompanied captain Clive in visiting the works. Mortiz-ally, a few days after his arrival, pretended to be dissatisfied with Raja-saheb, and removed his troops to a different part of the city, from whence he sent a messenger, inviting the garrison to make a sally on the quarters of Raja-saheb, in which he offered to assist them with his whole force. Captain Clive mistrusted his professions, but considering the advantage of keeping such a number of the enemy's troops inactive, pretended to approve

of

1751 of the proposal, and carried on for several days a correspondence, until Mortiz-ally, suspecting his scheme was detected, rejoined the army.

On the 24th of October, the French troops received from Pondicherry two 18 pounders, and seven pieces of smaller calibre, and immediately opened a battery to the north-west, which was so well served, that their very first shot dismounted one of the 18 pounders in the fort, and the next entirely disabled it. The garrison mounted the other 18 pounder; and this, after a few shot, was likewise dismounted: after which it was employed only in such parts of the fort, where it was not exposed to the enemy's artillery. The three field pieces were likewise cautiously reserved to repulse the enemy when they should storm; so that their battery firing without much opposition, in six days beat down all the wall lying between two towers, and made a practicable breach of fifty feet. In the mean time the garrison were employed in making works to defend it: a trench was dug just under the rampart, and behind that at some distance another; both of which were scattered with crows feet, and behind them the wall of a house was pulled down to the height of a breast-work; from whence a row of pallisadoes was carried along on each end of both trenches, and continued up the rampart to the parapet. A field piece was planted on one of the towers which flanked the breach without, and two small pieces of cannon on the flat roof of a house within the fort, opposite to the entrance. In these employments, as indeed in all others, the officers contributed their labour equally with the common men; and the enemy, informed of these preparations to defend the breach, did not think it safe to attack it before they had made another: they had by this time burst one of their 18 pounders, and removed the other, with one nine pounder, to a battery which they erected to the south-west.

The garrison intending to convince Raja-saheb that they were in a condition to execute even labours not indispensibly necessary, thickened the highest tower of the ramparts, and then raised on the top of it a mound of earth to such a height as commanded the palace over the interjacent houses. On the top of this mound they hoisted a vast piece of cannon, sent, according to the tradition of the fort, from Delhi.

Delhi, by Aureng-zebe, and said to have been drawn by 1000 yoke of oxen. There were several iron balls belonging to it, each weighing 72 pounds. The cannon was laid on the mound, and loaded with 30 pounds of powder, which was fired by a train carried to a considerable distance on the ground. The shot went through the palace, to the no small terror of Raja-saheb and his principal officers; and as this was the only effect intended, the cannon was fired only once in the day, at the time when the officers assembled at the head-quarters: on the fourth day it burst. 1751

The enemy, as if they intended to retaliate this affront, filled up a large house, which commanded the eastern gate, with earth well ramm'd down, and upon this base raised a square mound of earth to such a height as commanded not only the gate, but likewise every part within the fort: from hence they intended to fire on the rampart with musketry and two small pieces of cannon. They were suffered to go on with their work until they had compleated it and mounted the cannon, when the garrison began to fire from the reserved 18 pounder, and in less than an hour the mound gave way and tumbled at once with 50 men stationed on it; some of whom were killed and many disabled.

Notwithstanding the numbers of the enemy's guards which surrounded the fort, the garrison, by means of able spies, carried on a constant correspondence with Madrass and Fort St. David, where the company's agents were very sollicitous to relieve them, and having received some recruits from Europe, formed a party of 100 Europeans, who with 200 Sepoys, set out from Madrass under the command of lieutenant Innis. Before they had advanced 30 miles in their way to Arcot, they were surrounded in the town of Trivatore by 2000 of Raja-saheb's troops detached with 20 Europeans and two field pieces from the city. The English party having no cannon, were so severely annoyed by the enemy's, that lieutenant Innis, as the only resource, made a push with all his Europeans to drive them from their guns. The attempt succeeded, but not without a sharp contest, in which 20 of the English and two of their officers were killed, and a greater number wounded. This loss deterred the rest from continuing their march, and they retreated to Ponamalee, a fort built by the Moors, and at this time belonging to the company, 15 miles west of Madrass.

On

1751 On the 24th of October the enemy opened their battery to the south-west: the part of the wall against which they directed their fire was in a very ruinous condition, but it had the advantage of being much less exposed than any other to the fire from the houses. The garrison therefore kept up a constant fire of musketry against the battery, and several times drove the enemy out of it, but the breach notwithstanding increased every day.

The retreat of lieutenant Innis left the garrison little hopes of succour from the settlements; but at this time their spirits were raised by the hopes of other resources. A body of 6000 Morattoes, under the command of Morari-row, had lain for some time encamped at the foot of the western mountains, about 30 miles from Arcot: they had been hired to assist Mahomed-ally by the king of Mysore; but the retreat of the English, and the Nabob's troops to Tritchinopoly, had been represented in the neighbouring countries so much to their prejudice, that the Nabob's affairs were thought to be desperate, and his allies were suspected of having little intention to support him; and from this persuasion the Morattoes remained inactive. Captain Clive had found means to send a messenger to inform them of his situation, and to request their approach to his relief; the messenger returning safely to the fort, brought a letter from Morari-row, in which he said that he would not delay a moment to send a detachment of his troops to the assistance of such brave men as the defenders of Arcot, whose behaviour had now first convinced him that the English could fight.

Raja-saheb receiving intelligence of their intentions, sent a flag of truce on the 30th of October, with proposals for the surrender of the fort. He offered honourable terms to the garrison, and a large sum of money to captain Clive; and if his offers were not accepted, he threatened to storm the fort immediately, and put every man to the sword.

Captain Clive, in his answer, reproached the badness of Chunda-saheb's cause, treated Raja-saheb's offers of money with contempt; and said, that he had too good an opinion of his prudence to believe that he would attempt to storm, until he had got better soldiers than the rabble of which his army was composed. As soon as the messenger was dispatched, the flag of truce was pulled down; but the enemy not under-

understanding the rules of European war, numbers of them remained 1751 near the ditch parleying with the Sepoys, and persuading them to desert. The croud was several times warned to retire, but continuing to disregard the injunction, were dispersed by a volley of small arms, which killed several of them.

Lieutenant Innis's party, reinforced to the number of 150 Europeans, and with four field pieces, was now advancing under the command of Capt. Killpatrick ; and on the 9th of November a detachment of Morattoes arrived in the neighbourhood, and intercepted some ammunition going to the enemy. They likewise attempted to enter the town ; but finding every street and avenue barricaded, they contented themselves with plundering and setting fire to some houses in the skirts of it, after which they retreated.

By this time the enemy had, from their battery to the south-west, made a breach much larger than that to the north-west, for it extended near 30 yards ; but the ditch before it was full of water, and not fordable : and the garrison had counterworked this breach with the same kinds of defences as the other.

Rajah-saheb, exasperated by the answer he had received to his summons, and alarmed by the approach of the Morattoes, and the detachment from Madrass, determined to storm the fort. In the evening a spy brought intelligence of this to the garrison, and at midnight another came with a particular account of all the enemy's dispositions, and of the hour of attack, which was to begin at the dawn of day by the signal of three bombs. Captain Clive, almost exhausted with fatigue, laid down to sleep, ordering himself to be awakened at the first alarm.

It was the 14th of November, and the festival which commemorates the murder of the brothers Hassein and Jassein happened to fall out at this time. This is celebrated by the Mahomedans of Indostan with a kind of religious madness, some acting and others bewailing the catastrophe of their saints with so much energy, that several die of the excesses they commit : they are likewise persuaded, that whoever falls in battle, against unbelievers, during any of the days of this ceremony, shall instantly be translated into the higher paradise, without stopping at any of the intermediate purgatories.

1751 To the enthusiasm of superstition was added the more certain efficacy of inebriation; for most of the troops, as is customary during the agitations of this festival, had eaten plentifully of bang, a plant which either stupifies, or excites the most desperate excesses of rage. Thus prepared, as soon as the morning broke, the army of Rajah-saheb advanced to the attack. Besides a multitude that came with ladders to every part of the walls that were accessible, there appeared four principal divisions. Two of these divisions advanced to the two gates, and the other two were allotted to the breaches.

Captain Clive, awakened by the alarm, found his garrison at their posts, according to the dispositions he had made. The parties who attacked the gates drove before them several elephants, who, with large plates of iron fixed to their foreheads, were intended to break them down; but the elephants, wounded by the musketry, soon turned, and trampled on those who escorted them. The ditch before the breach to the north-west was fordable; and as many as the breach would admit, mounted it with a mad kind of intrepidity, whilst numbers came and sat down with great composure in the fausse-braye under the tower where the field piece was planted, and waited there to relieve those who were employed in the attack: these passed the breach, and some of them even got over the first trench before the defenders gave fire; it fell heavily, and every shot did execution and a number of muskets were loaded in readiness, which those behind delivered to the first rank as fast as they could discharge them The two pieces of cannon from the top of the house fired likewise on the assailants, who in a few minutes abandoned the attack, when another body, and then another succeeded, who were driven off in the same manner: in the mean time bombs, with short fusees, which had been prepared and lodged on the adjacent rampart, were thrown into the fausse-braye, and by their explosion drove the croud, who had seated themselves there, back again over the ditch. At the breach to the south-west the enemy brought a raft, and seventy men embarked on it to cross the ditch, which was flanked by two field pieces, one in each tower: the raft had almost gained the fausse-braye when captain Clive observing that the gunners fired with bad aim took the management of one of the field pieces himself, and in three

or four discharges flung them into such confusion that they overset 1751
the raft, and tumbled into the ditch; where some of them where drowned, and the rest, intent only on their own preservation, swam back and left the raft behind.

In these different attacks the enemy continued the strom for an hour, when they relinquished all their attempts of annoyance at once, and employed themselves earnestly in carrying off their dead. Amongst these was the commander of their Sepoys, who fell in the fausse-braye of the northern breach: he had distinguished himself with great bravery in the attack, and was so much beloved by his troops, that one of them crossed the ditch and carried off his body, exposing himself during the attempt to the fire of 40 muskets, from which he had the good fortune to escape. It seemed as if the enemy expected that the garrison would permit them to fulfil this duty to their friends; but finding that they suffered severely in attempting it, they at last retreated and disappeared. Their loss during the storm was computed to be not less than 400 men killed and wounded, of which very few were Europeans, for most of the French troops were observed drawn up and looking on at a distance. Of the defenders, only four Europeans were killed and two Sepoys wounded. Many of the garrison being disabled by sickness or wounds, the number which repulsed the storm was no more than 80 Europeans, officers included, and 120 Sepoys; and these, besides, serving five pieces of cannon, expended 12,000 musket cartridges during the attack.

Two hours after the enemy renewed their fire upon the fort, both with their cannon and with musketry from the houses: at two in the afternoon they demanded leave to bury their dead, which was granted, and a truce allowed until four: they then recommenced and continued their fire smartly till two in the morning, when on a sudden it ceased totally; and at day-break, intelligence was brought that the whole army had abandoned the town with precipitation. On receiving this joyful news, the garrison immediately marched into the enemy's quarters, where they found four pieces of artillery, four mortars, and a large quantity of ammunition, which they brought in triumph into the fort. During the time that the garrison were shut up in the

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1751 fort, 45 Europeans and 30 Sepoys were killed, and a greater number of both wounded, most of whom suffered by the enemy's musketry from the houses.

Thus ended this siege, maintained 50 days, under every disadvantage of situation and force, by a handful of men in their first campaign, with a spirit worthy of the most veteran troops; and conducted by their young commander with indefatigable activity, unshaken constancy, and undaunted courage: and notwithstanding he had at this time neither read books, or conversed with men capable of giving him much instruction in the military art; all the resources which he employed in the defence of Arcot, were such as are dictated by the best masters in the science of war.

In the evening the detachment with captain Killpatrick entered the town, which the army of Raja-saheb no sooner quitted than all the troops, sent to his assistance by different chiefs, returned to their homes, and there remained with him only those which had been detached by his father from Tritchinopoly. With these and the French he retired to Velore, and pitching his camp close to the eastern side of the town, fortified it with strong entrenchments. Captain Clive leaving captain Killpatrick with a garrison in the fort, took the field on the 19th of November, with 200 Europeans, 700 Sepoys, and three field pieces, and marched to Timery, which the governor now surrendered on the first summons: a small garrison was left in this place, and the army returned and encamped near the western side of the city, waiting to be joined by the Morattoes. Of these 5000 horse, with Morari-row at their head, had proceeded to the southward, and 1000 under the command of Basin-row, a nephew of Morari-row, remained to assist captain Clive; but, instead of joining him immediately, they employed themselves some days in plundering the country. As they lay encamped with great negligence within a short march of Velore, the French troops with Raja-saheb attacked them with success in the night, killed 40 or 50 of their horses, and plundered their camp. After this defeat they came to the English camp, and intreated captain Clive to march to the place where they had suffered, in hopes of recovering their loss. Their request was complied with to keep them in temper; but nothing was recovered, for the enemy had

had carried off and secured the booty. At this time intelligence was received that a party of Europeans from Pondicherry were approaching towards Arni, a strong fort situated about 20 miles to the south of Arcot; on which captain Clive requested Basin-row to accompany him with his troops to intercept them before they should join Raja-saheb. The Morattoe seeing no probability of acquiring plunder, refused his assistance, and the English marched without him; but hearing that the French party had retreated to Chittapet, returned to their station near Arcot. Two or three days after, Raja-saheb quitted his encampment near Velore, and in the night made a forced march to Arni, where he was joined by the party from Chittapet. The Morattoes still continued unwilling to accompany the English in quest of the enemy: but, hearing from their spies that the enemy's reinforcement had brought a large sum of money for Raja-saheb, Basin-row now expressed as much eagerness to march against him as he had hitherto shewn reluctance. The troops immediately moved; but the Morattoe was not able to assemble more than 600 of his horsemen, the rest being employed in their usual excursions. The next afternoon, by a forced march of 20 miles, the army came in sight of the enemy, just as they were preparing to cross the river which runs to the north of Arni. The enemy, encouraged by the superiority of their force, which consisted of 300 Europeans, 2000 horse, and 2500 Sepoys, with four field pieces, immediately formed, and returned to meet them. Captain Clive halted to receive them in an advantageous post: the Morattoes were stationed in a grove of palm trees to the left; the Sepoys in a village to the right; and the Europeans, with the field pieces, in the center, in an open ground, which extended about three hundred yards between the grove and the village; in the front were rice fields, which at this time of the year were very swampy, and the approach of the enemy's cannon would have been impracticable, had there not been a causeway leading to the village on the right. The French troops, with about 1500 Sepoys, and their artillery, marched along the causeway; and the horse, amongst which the rest of the Sepoys were interspersed, moved in a separate body to the left, and attacked the Morattoes in the grove some time before the other wing was engaged any other way than by cannonading at

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1751 at a distance. The Morattoes fought in a manner peculiar to themselves: their cavalry were armed with sabres, and every horseman was closely accompanied by a man on foot, armed with a sword and a large club; and some instead of a club carried a short strong spear: if a horse was killed and the rider remained unhurt, he immediately began to act on foot; and if the rider fell, and the horse escaped, he was immediately mounted, and pressed on again to the charge by the first foot-man who could seize him. Notwithstanding the difference of numbers, and the advantage of the enemy's disposition, they behaved with great spirit, and made five successive charges, in every one of which they were repulsed by the fire of the enemy's Sepoys. In the mean time the other wing advanced towards the village; but their line of march along the causeway was so much galled and enfiladed by the English field pieces, that all but the artillery-men with the cannon, and two or three platoons to support them, quitted the causeway, and formed in the rice fields an extensive front, which reached almost to the grove, where their cavalry were engaged, who imagined that this motion was made to reinforce them. Upon this change in their disposition, two field pieces were sent to support the Morattoes; and the Sepoys, with two platoons of Europeans, were ordered to sally from the village and attack the enemy's artillery. This unexpected motion terrified those who remained to defend the cannon so much, that they immediately began to draw them off and retreat. Their example was followed by the Sepoys in the rice fields, and the retreat of these immediately dispirited the horse and foot fighting at the grove, who had suffered from the two field pieces sent thither; and this whole wing gave way and retreated likewise, pursued by the Morattoes. Capt. Clive, with his infantry and field pieces, advanced along the causeway in pursuit of the enemy, who made a stand at three different choultries in their rout, but were beaten out of each of them; when night coming on, the pursuit ceased. About 50 of the French, and 150 of the enemy's cavalry and Sepoys, were either killed or wounded in the action. The English lost no European, and only eight Sepoys; but of the Morattoes about fifty were either killed or disabled.

The enemy continuing their retreat, crossed the river, and entered

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the town of Arni: which at midnight they quitted in great disorder, 1751 intending to make the best of their way to Gingee; and the next morning the English entered the town, in which they found many tents, and a large quantity of baggage. The Morattoes set out in pursuit of the enemy, and, before night, returned with 400 horses, and Raja-saheb's military chest, in which they found 100,000 rupees. A great number of the enemy's Sepoys came and offered their service to captain Clive, who enlisted as many as brought good arms; of whom the number amounted to 600. Receiving intelligence from them that Raja-saheb had deposited some valuable effects in the fort of Arni, he summoned the governor to deliver them up, together with his fort; who, after some altercations, sent out an elephant and 15 horses, with a great quantity of baggage, and agreed to take the oath of fealty to Mahomed-ally, but refused to surrender his fort; which the army, having no battering cannon, was not in a condition to attack.

The French, during the siege of Arcot, had again taken possession of the great pagoda of Conjeveram, and placed in it a garrison of 30 Europeans and 300 Sepoys, who from hence interrupted the communication between Arcot and Madrass, and had surprized a party of disabled men, returning from the siege. Amongst these were the officers Revel and Glass, to whom the French gave quarter, after they had murdered five or six Europeans as they lay in their litters without arms, and incapable of making resistance. Captain Clive determined to avail himself of the dispersion of Raja-saheb's forces to reduce Conjeveram; and two or three days after his victory, marched thither at the head of his own force: for Basin-row, in obedience to orders which he had received from his uncle, proceeded with the Morattoes from Arni to Tritchinopoly. The French officer at Conjeveram was summoned to surrender; and none of the garrison understanding the English language, he ordered his prisoners, Revel and Glass, to write a letter, and acquaint captain Clive, that he intended to expose them on the walls, if the pagoda was attacked. They wrote this, but added, that they hoped no regard to their safety would induce him to discontinue his operations against the place. The army waited some days for two 18 pounders, which were coming from Madrass; and

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1751 as soon as they arrived began to batter in breach at the distance of 200 yards : the enemy had no cannon, but fired very smartly with their musketry, which killed several men at the battery, and lieutenant Bulkley, reconnoitering the pagoda over a garden-wall in company with captain Clive, was shot through the head close by his side. The wall resisted three days before it began to give way, when the garrison, conscious of their demerits, and dreading the just resentment of the English, abandoned the pagoda in the night, but left behind the two prisoners. After ruining the defences of Conjeveram, captain Clive sent 200 Europeans and 500 Sepoys to Arcot, and returned in the middle of December with the rest to Madrass ; from whence he went to Fort St. David, to give an account of his campaign to the presidency.

During these successes in the province of Arcot, Chunda-saheb beleaguered Tritchinopoly. The French battalion fixed their quarters at a village called Chuckly-pollam, on the southern bank of the Caveri, about two miles and a half from the east side of the town. The troops of Chunda-saheb, for the convenience of water, encamped likewise along the bank of the river, and to the eastward of Chuckly-pollam, which post secured one of the flanks of their camp, and at the other extremity of it, three miles distant, they raised a redoubt, on which they mounted two pieces of cannon. The French, on whom the operations of the siege principally depended, sent to their settlement of Karical for a train of battering artillery ; and in the beginning of September they raised their principal battery a little to the south of the north-east angle of the town, and at the distance of 1200 yards from the walls. To save the fatigue of carrying on trenches between this post and the camp, they afterwards made the battery a regular redoubt, by inclosing it on both flanks and in the rear with a parapet and a deep ditch ; here they mounted three 8 pounders, and three mortars, which were defended by a constant guard of 100 Europeans and 400 Sepoys. They likewise mounted two 18 pounders on a rock, which has ever since obtained the name of the French rock, and is situated about 2000 yards directly east from the south-east angle of the town ; they also raised a battery of two guns on the island of Seringham, from which they fired across the

the Caveri at the northern gate of the city, to interrupt the communication of the inhabitants with the river; these guns, as well as those on the French rock, were at too great a distance to make any impression on the walls. By these works alone they hoped to reduce the city; the insufficiency of them soon raised in the English battalion a contempt of their courage and military abilities, and it was now that they began to be ashamed of having retreated before such an enemy; and judging, as usual, from events, to blame their commander for an excess of caution in his retreat, of which their own panicks had been the principal cause: for captain Gingen was undoubtedly a man of courage, and had seen much service in Europe; but having had no experience against an Indian army, fell into the error of imagining that the cavalry of Chunda-saheb would act with all the vigour of which their number and appearance seemed capable. His prudence, if improper before, became absolutely necessary now, as the French had taken possession of posts in which they could do no harm to the town, but from which they could not be driven without great loss: he therefore determined to preserve his men, whilst the enemy fatigued their troops and exhausted their ammunition to no purpose: and in this intention he kept the greatest part of the battalion and Sepoys encamped close to the western side of the town, where they were out of the reach of annoyance. 1751

To save that part of the wall against which the enemy's principal battery fired, a glacis was raised to such a height as left nothing but the parapet exposed; and the grenadiers, commanded by captain Dalton, were posted behind this glacis: an entrenchment was flung up between the French rock and the south-east angle of the town, in which the company of Coffrees were posted, to protect from surprizes the Nabob's cavalry encamped to the south; and to oppose the enemy's battery in the island, two guns were mounted close to the southern bank of the river.

To infilade these, the French mounted two guns on the same side of the river; but were one night driven from this post by captain Dalton: they, a few days after, surprized the English entrenchment opposite to the French rock, and carried off the captain and nine

1751 Coffrees; and these two were the only enterprizes made on either side during the month of October. The enemy's batteries fired indeed constantly and smartly every day, and damaged some houses, but made no impression on the defences of the town: they supplied the defenders with a great number of cannon-balls, all of which had the English mark, being the same that the ships had fired against Pondicherry, with as little effect as they were now thrown away against Tritchinopoly.

But although little was to be feared from the efforts of an enemy who seemed ignorant of the first principles of a regular attack, yet every thing was to be apprehended from the poverty to which the Nabob was reduced. His troops threatened to desert: the expences of the English battalion, which used to be furnished from his treasury, began to be defrayed by that of Fort St. David, and he had no reason to believe that they would continue to support him any longer than there was a probability of extricating him out of his distresses; and these he foresaw would increase every day, unless he could obtain an army equal to that of Chunda-saheb, whose superiority had hitherto deterred the English troops from making any vigorous efforts.

The only prince in the peninsula from whose situation, power, and inclination, the Nabob could expect the assistance which he stood so much in need of, was the king of Mysore. The territory of this Indian prince is bounded to the east by the southern part of the Carnatic, and the kingdom of Tritchinopoly; and to the west it extends, in some parts, within 30 miles of the sea-coast of Malabar. His annual revenue is computed at 20 millions of rupees; and the whole nation bore a mortal hatred to Chunda-saheb, who during the time that he governed Tritchinopoly, formed a design of conquering the country, and besieged for several months Caroor, the strongest of their frontier towns to the eastward. The king of Mysore being an infant, the government was administered by his uncle, who acted with unlimited power: to this regent, called in the country, the *Dalaway* of Mysore, Mahomed-ally applied for assistance; and finding that the dread of Chunda-saheb's successes was not alone a sufficient motive to induce him to take up arms, he agreed to all the terms which the Mysorean demanded, and these were very exorbitant. The Nabob ratified the treaty

treaty by his oath, and the Dalaway determined to assist him with efficacy. In consequence of this negociation, a party of seventy horsemen arrived at Tritchinopoly in the beginning of October from Seringapatnam, the capital of Mysore. They brought five hundred thousand rupees : great respect was shewn to their officer ; and the day after his arrival a skirmish happened, which, although inconsiderable, gave him a favourable opinion of the Nabob's European allies. A platoon, with two or three companies of Sepoys, were sent to cut down wood at a grove situated about a mile and a half south-east from the city. The enemy having intelligence of this detachment, sent a large body of cavalry to cut off their retreat : their march being discovered from the rock in the city, the grenadiers, with some Sepoys, and one field piece, were sent to support the first party, and the troop of Mysoreans accompanied them. Captain Dalton meeting the wood-carts loaded, ordered them to proceed to the town by a distant road, and forming the two parties into one column, with the field piece in front, marched towards the enemy, instead of returning directly to the city. He first met the French dragoons, who halted on a small eminence to reconnoitre, and waited there until they received the fire of a platoon, on which they retreated to bring up the body of Chunda-saheb's cavalry, who remained at some distance in the rear. These came up some time after at full speed, flourishing their swords, and made a halt within point blank shot, to draw the fire of the English troops before they charged ; but captain Dalton ordered his men to preserve it, and wait with fixed bayonets in close order. The field piece alone was fired, and the first shot dismounted three Moors, and a few more discharges put the whole body to flight. They left 22 horses killed on the plain, and the Mysoreans took five prisoners, together with their horses ; which at their return, a few days after, they carried in a kind of triumph to their own country.

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The French continued to bombard the town without any change in their position ; and in the latter end of November the king of Mysore's army began to assemble at Caroor, situated about 50 miles from Tritchinopoly, and 5 miles to the south of the Caveri ; he likewise took into his pay 6000 Morattoes, under the command of Morari-row, often mentioned in this history : 1000 of them were sent to second,

1751 the efforts of captain Clive in the Arcot province; and in the beginning of December, 500 under the command of Innis-Khan, a brave and active officer, came to Tritchinopoly. The day after their arrival, they went boldly to reconnoitre the plain, where none of the Nabob's dispirited cavalry had ever ventured to shew themselves, and finding a small detached camp of about 200 horse, which had lain four months unmolested near the French rock, they rode into it sword in hand, and brought off every thing they found with the greatest composure, shewing no fear at the swarms of Chunda-saheb's cavalry, who mounted and marched towards them from their principal camp.

After this exploit, the Morattoes went out several days successively to reconnoitre; and Innis-Khan having observed that the French dragoons were much more alert than any of Chunda-saheb's cavalry, mounting and advancing on every alarm, he formed the design of drawing them into an ambuscade; and having communicated his plan to captain Gingen, a party of Europeans, with two field pieces, were detached before day, who entering a large and deep water-course, which runs across the plain to the south of the city, concealed themselves in it, within 400 yards of the French rock, and at the same time Innis-Khan, with 300 horsemen, marched out from his encampment on the west side of the town. The surface of the plain round Tritchinopoly is very uneven, and full of hollow ways. The Morattoe taking a large circuit, placed his men in a hollow, where, when dismounted, they could not be perceived either from the French rock or that in the city. Every thing remained quiet in both camps until noon, when 40 Morattoes, mounted on the best horses, set out from the camp, and keeping out of cannon-shot of the French rock, proceeded to the eastward of it, and then galloped sword in hand directly to the enemy's camp, where they made no small hurry and confusion, either cutting down or driving all the foragers they met, quite up to the tents. This provoking the French, 60 dragoons sallied, and were followed slowly by 400 of Chunda-saheb's cavalry, The Morattoes retreated leisurely before them, halting as they halted, but always keeping at the distance of musket-shot from them: and in this manner they led the enemy as far

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as the French rock, when Mr. Pischard, a brave officer, exasperated 1751
at the repeated defiances of such a handful of men, formed his troop, and leaving the Moorish cavalry, set out in pursuit of them at full speed. They now flew before the dragoons, until they had led them insensibly out of the reach of the French artillery on the rock, and beyond their own party in ambuscade; when these mounting in an instant, sallied from the hollow way, and charged the dragoons impetuously in the rear, whilst the flying party wheeling, attacked them with equal fury in front. The action was over in an instant; the French had only time to discharge a few pistols, and were all cut to pieces, excepting 10, who had not been able to keep up with the rest. The detachment of Chunda-saheb's cavalry, either from cowardice, or suspicion of the stratagem, never stirred from the rock; but the officer who commanded in that post detached 100 men to succour his unfortunate friends. Lieutenant Trusler, posted in the entrenchment opposite the rock, seeing them march, and not knowing the success of the Morattoes, immediately advanced with the company of Coffrees to oblige the party to return, who finding all lost on the plain, hastened back and saved the rock, which Trusler was on the point of carrying. The success of this ambuscade dispirited the enemy so much, that they suffered their dead to lay on the plain without venturing out to bury them; and when, two days after, the English went to perform this charitable office, they found the bodies devoured by the jackals.

The Morattoes, on the other hand, were so much elevated, and conceived so despicable an opinion of the enemy, that they pressed their allies to march out and offer them battle: promising, that if the English battalion would engage the French, they would prevent it from being incommoded by Chunda-saheb's cavalry, although these were 12,000, and they themselves only 500. The reasonable objections made to this hardy proposal satisfied them, until the arrival of Basin-row with his body of 1000 men from the Arcot country, when thinking that this reinforcement rendered them a full match for the enemy, they aspired at the glory of finishing the war themselves, and became more and more sollicitous for a general engagement,

1751 ment, in which they promised to charge the French battalion on both flanks; finding that the English still declined to put any thing to risque until the arrival of the Mysore army, and of a reinforcement expected from Fort St. David, they did not scruple to tell them, that they were not the same kind of men as those they had seen fighting so gallantly at Arcot.

In the mean time the army of Mysore, with 4000 Morattoes under Morari-row, had assembled on the frontier of Caroor; and the regent, after many delays, at last yielded to the pressing sollicitations of the Nabob, and prepared to march to Tritchinopoly; when the enemy having intelligence of his intention, ventured to detach a strong party of Europeans, cavalry and Sepoys, to the village of Kistnavaram, situated 30 miles to the west of the city in the high road to Mysore: they found the place, although fortified, without a garrison; and as soon as they were in possession of it, began to improve the defences, spreading a report that if the Mysoreans offered to move, they would attack them, and afterwards pillage their country. This stopped the regent's march, and he wrote to the Nabob desiring that a strong party of Europeans might be sent to his assistance without delay, as he was utterly ignorant of the manner in which he ought to conduct himself against white men who fought with musketry and cannon.

Lieutenant Trusler was detached on this service with 40 Europeans and 100 Sepoys; but it soon appearing that this force was insufficient, captain Cope proceeded with 100 more Europeans and two small field pieces. He was instructed to dislodge the enemy at all events, and found them posted in a much stronger situation than he expected. The village was inclosed by a mud wall, flanked by round towers, and in the center of it was a fort: the northern side was close to the bank of the Caveri, and the other sides were surrounded by a deep morass, passable only in one part to the westward; to defend which, the French had flung up on an eminence an entrenchment at the distance of gun-shot from the village. Captain Cope encamped to the west of this eminence, which he intended to attack before day-break, but by some mistake the troops were not ready before the sun was risen, by which time the enemy had reinforced the post, and had lined

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several banks and water-courses leading to it with Sepoys : he never- 1751
theless persisted in his intention ; but the forlorn-hope coming to a bank which sheltered them from the enemy's fire, could not be prevailed on to advance beyond it, and this example was followed by the rest. Lieutenant Felix received a shot through the body, as he stood encouraging them on the top of the bank ; and soon after, captain Cope, returning with a platoon from the reserve, was mortally wounded : on which disasters the whole party retreated to their camp in disorder.

Captain Dalton was sent from Tritchinopoly to take the command, 1852
and found the detachment joined by the van of the Mysore army ; and two days after the regent himself came up with the rest ; the whole consisted of 12,000 horse and 8,000 foot, including the Morattoes. He immediately desired a conference with captain Dalton, whom he received with great politeness, admiring, not without astonishment, the martial appearance and regularity of the English troops ; and forming naturally the same high opinion of the French, he declared, that he should neither expose his men, nor lose time, in attacking them, but proceed at midnight with half the army directly to Tritchinopoly by another road at some distance on the plain, leaving the rest with captain Dalton, whom he requested to divert the enemy's attention by a false attack until he was out of the reach of danger : and, not content with these precautions, he desired that some Europeans might accompany him as a safeguard to his person. These dispositions answering the purpose for which the detachment was sent, captain Dalton encouraged him in his resolution, and at midnight began to skirmish against the enemy's posts, which he kept alarmed until morning, by which time the rear of the regent's division was out of sight. This service proved to be much more necessary than it first appeared to be : for such was the military ignorance of the Mysoreans, that they were discovered in the night passing over the plain with ten thousand lights, as if they had been marching in the procession of an Indian wedding.

The next day the rest of their army proceeded, desiring captain Dalton to remain before the village until they were out of sight, and promised to halt and wait for him ; but they were no sooner out of danger than they hurried away to join the regent. Some hours after, the English detachment

1752 tachment decamped, and passing by Kistnavaram without molestation from the garrison, returned to Tritchinopoly, where they arrived on the 6th of February, and the French soon after recalled their detachment.

The junction of the Mysoreans determined the king of Tanjore to declare for the Nabob; and soon after their arrival he sent to Tritchinopoly 3000 horse and 2000 foot under the command of his general Monack-jee. The Polygar Tondiman, whose country lies between Tanjore and Madura, likewise sent 400 horse and 3000 Colleries; these are a people, who, under several petty chiefs, inhabit the woods between Tritchinopoly and Cape Comorin; their name in their own language signifies Thieves, and justly describes their general character, which however has differences in different parts of the country. Those to the north of Madura are almost savage: their weapon is a pike 18 feet long, with which they creep along the ground, and use it with great address in ambuscades; but the principal service they render to an army is, by stealing or killing the horses of the enemy's camp. Thus the force of Mahomed-ally became on a sudden superior to that of Chunda-saheb; for the troops of his allies joined to his own, formed a body of 20,000 cavalry, 6000 of which were Morattoes, and of 20,000 infantry. The army of Chunda-saheb had likewise since their arrival before Tritchinopoly, been augmented to 15,000 horse and 20,000 foot, by the junction of 3000 horse commanded by Allum-Khan, the governor of Madura, and of 4000 Peons and Colleries belonging to the Polygar, Morawar, whose country lies to the south of the kingdom of Tanjore. The king of Mysore, impatient to be put in possession of the places which Mahomed-ally had agreed to give up to him in return for his assistance, pressed the English battalion to make a general attack on the enemy with the whole army, and Morari-row, the Morattoe, seconded him very strongly in this proposal; but captain Gingen knowing that these Indian troops were capable of rendering very little service against fortified posts, defended by Europeans, and considering that if the English battalion, on whom the brunt would lay, should suffer severely in these attacks, such a loss would be irreparable, he determined to wait until he was reinforced by a body of Europeans, which were preparing to take the field in the province of Arcot.

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Here the scattered troops of Rajah-saheb no sooner saw the English retire to their garrisons, after the taking of Conjeveram, than they re-assembled and moved, in the beginning of January, down to the sea-coast, carrying their ravages into the Company's territory of Ponamalee, where they burnt several villages, and plundered the country houses built by the English at the foot of St. Thomas's mount: after these hostilities, they returned to Conjeveram, and having repaired the damages which the pagoda had sustained from the English, they garrisoned it with 300 Sepoys, and then kept the field between this place and the fort of Ponamalee, which they sometimes threatened to attack. The violences they committed, and the contributions they levied, impaired the Nabob's as well as the Company's revenues so much, that the presidency determined to make an effort, with all the force they could assemble, to reduce this enemy, before they sent a reinforcement to Tritchinopoly. Captain Clive, appointed to this service, returned in the beginning of February to Madrass, where, whilst he was employed in levying Sepoys, a detachment of 100 Europeans arrived from Bengal: with these, and 80 more from the garrison of Madrass, he took the field the 22d of February, and was the same day joined by 200 Europeans and 500 Sepoys from the garrison of Arcot. His whole force united consisted of 380 Europeans, 1300 Sepoys, with six field pieces: the enemy were 2500 horse, 2000 Sepoys, and 400 Europeans, with a large train of artillery: and, notwithstanding this superiority, they no sooner heard of the preparations that the English were making to attack them, than they fortified themselves strongly in their camp at Vendalore, a village situated about 25 miles south-west of Madrass. Captain Clive marched towards them with an intent of attacking their camp by surprize in the rear; but had not proceeded far before he received information that they had suddenly abandoned it, and had dispersed with the appearance of people terrified by some disaster, insomuch that it was believed they had received news of some bad success at Tritchinopoly, and were hurrying thither to reinforce the army of Chunda-saheb. The English however continued their march, and took possession of the ground the enemy had quitted, where, some hours after, intelligence was received, that all the dispersed parties were re-united at 1752

E e Conjeveram.

1752 Conjeveram. It was then not doubted that they had received advice of the weakness of the garrison at Arcot; and that they intended to take advantage of it by making a sudden assault on the fort. Captain Clive therefore made a forced march of 20 miles to Conjeveram, where the garrison of the pagoda surrendered on the first summons; and a few hours after, the conjecture which had been made of the enemy's intentions was verified by news that they were in full march, towards Arcot. The troops were too much fatigued to follow them immediately, but the next day took the same rout; and on their march a letter was received from the commanding officer at Arcot, advising that they had entered the town, and skirmished against the fort with musketry for several hours in expectation that the gates would have been opened to them by two officers of the English Sepoys, with whom they had carried on a correspondence; but that the plot had been discovered, and the enemy finding their signals not answered, had quitted the city with precipitation, and it was not yet known what rout they had taken. In this uncertainty it was determined to hasten to Arcot.

The army arrived in sight of Covrepauk at sun-set, when the van marching in the high road without suspicion, were fired upon from the right at no greater distance than 250 yards, by nine pieces of cannon. These were the French artillery, posted in a thick grove of mango trees, which had a ditch and a bank in front: the fire did some mischief before it could be either answered or avoided; but luckily there was a water-course at a little distance to the left of the road, in which the infantry were ordered to take shelter, and the baggage to march back half a mile with one of the field pieces and a platoon to defend it; and two field pieces, supported by a platoon of Europeans with 200 Sepoys, were detached to oppose Rajah-saheb's cavalry which appeared extending themselves on the plain to the left of the water-course; in the meantime the rest of the artillery, drawn up on the right, answered the enemy's fire from the grove; the French infantry entered the water-course, and advanced along it in a column of six men in front: the English formed in the same order, and a fire was kept up on both sides for two hours, by moon-light, during which neither ventured to come to the push of bayonet. The enemy's

 cavalry

cavalry made several unsuccessful attacks both on the party opposed to them, and the baggage in the rear : but their artillery in the grove being answered only by three pieces of cannon, did execution in proportion to this superiority, and either killed or disabled so many of the English gunners that prudence seemed to dictate a retreat, unless their cannon could be taken. Captain Clive did not despair of this last resource, and at ten at night sent one Shawlum, a serjeant, who spoke the country languages, with a few Sepoys, to reconnoitre : he returned and reported that the enemy had posted no guards in the rear of the grove ; on which intelligence 200 of the best Europeans and 400 Sepoys were immediately ordered to proceed thither under the command of lieutenant Keene, with Shawlum as their guide. Captain Clive himself accompanied the detachment half way, and on his return found the troops he had left fighting in the water-course so much dispirited by the departure of Keene's detachment, that they were on the point of taking flight, and some had already run away ; he, however, not without difficulty, rallied them, and the firing was renewed. In the mean time Keene taking a large circuit, came directly opposite to the rear of the grove, and halted at the distance of 300 yards from it, whilst ensign Symmonds advanced alone to examine the enemy's disposition. This officer had not proceeded far before he came to a deep trench, in which a large body, consisting of all the enemy's Sepoys, whose service had not been demanded in the water-course, were sitting down to avoid the random shots of the fight. They challenged Symmonds, and prepared at first to shoot him, but deceived by his speaking French, suffered him to pass as a French officer ; he then went on to the grove, where he perceived, besides the men employed at the guns, 100 Europeans stationed to support them, who only kept a look-out towards the field of battle ; and passing in his return at a distance to the right of the trench where he had found the enemy's Sepoys, he rejoined his own detachment ; who immediately marched by the same way he had returned, and entering the grove unperceived, gave their fire in a general volley at the distance 30 yards. It fell heavy, and astonished the enemy so much that they did not return a single shot, but instantly abandoned their guns,

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1752 guns, every man endeavouring to save himself by precipitate flight. Many of them ran into a choultry in the grove, where they were so crowded together that they were not able to make use of their arms. The English drew up before the choultry, and to spare the impending slaughter of their fire, offered quarter, which was accepted with joy, and the Frenchmen coming out one by one, as they were ordered, delivered up their arms, and were made prisoners. The English troops fighting at the water-course were immediately convinced of the success of the detachment, by the sudden silence of the enemy's artillery: but the enemy's infantry remained ignorant of it, and continued the fight, until some of the fugitives from the grove informed them of the disaster, on which they immediately took flight, and their horse dispersed at the same time. The field being thus cleared, the whole army united, and remained under arms until day-break, when they found themselves in possession of nine field pieces, three cohorn mortars, and 60 European prisoners. They likewise counted 50 dead on the field, and not less than 300 Sepoys: for the enemy had exposed these troops more freely than the others. Of the English, 40 Europeans and 30 Sepoys were killed, and a great number of both wounded.

Part of the fugitives took shelter in the neighbouring fort of Covrepauk, which was summoned to surrender; but the governor returned answer, that the troops of Raja-saheb were much more numerous than his garrison, and, contrary to his inclination, intended to defend the fort: a detachment was threfore sent to invest it, but before they arrived the fugitives abandoned it, upon which he submitted.

From hence the troops proceeded to Arcot, and the next day marched towards Velore, not in expectation of reducing the place, but in hopes that some hostilities would induce Mortiz-ally to pay a contribution, or at least to deliver up the elephants and baggage, which Raja-saheb had deposited in his fort soon after he had raised the siege of Arcot; but before the troops came in sight of Velore, captain Clive received an order from the presidency of Fort St. David, to repair thither with all his force, for it was now determined to send them

them to Tritchinopoly. He therefore changed his rout, and marching across the country, came to the spot where Nazir-jing had been killed: here he found a rising town projected by the vanity of Mr. Dupleix to commemorate that detestable action, and called Dupleix-Fateabad, or the town of Dupleix's victory: it is said, that he was preparing a column, with a pompous inscription in the French, Malabar, Persic, and Indostan languages, which he intended to erect in the middle of the town, where he had already caused coins struck with symbols of the victory to be buried. The troops did not quit this place until they had razed to the ground all that was erected, after which they proceeded to Fort St. David. During the whole march they no where met a single squadron of the enemy's troops. The defeat at Covrepauk succeeding to their former disgraces, intirely broke their force as well as their spirits: their horse either disbanded, or took service with the governors in the provinces who still acknowledged Chunda-saheb; and the French troops and Sepoys were recalled to Pondicherry, where Mr. Dupleix was so incensed against Raja-saheb, that he would not suffer him for several days to appear in his presence. Thus the English successes in the Carnatic recovered to Mahomed-ally an extent of country 30 miles in breadth and 60 in length, the annual revenues of which, including that of the famous pagoda at Tripetti, amounted to 400,000 pagodas. 1752

Three days after their arrival at Fort St. David, the troops were ready to take the field again under the command of captain Clive, when, on the 15th of March, Major Lawrence arrived from England, and two days after put himself at the head of the detachment. It consisted of 400 Europeans and 1100 Sepoys, with eight field pieces, who escorting a large quantity of military stores, marched through the king of Tanjore's country towards Tritchinopoly.

Here the Mysoreans and Morattoes were so much displeased with the precaution of captain Gingen, who constantly refused to attack the enemy's posts before he was joined by the expected reinforcement, that the Dalaway of Mysore, distressed by the great expences of his army, had more than once been on the point of returning to his own country: however, him the Nabob appeased, by making

over

1752 over the revenues of all the districts which had been recovered since his arrival: but Morari-row was so exasperated by this inactivity, which deprived his troops of opportunities to get plunder, and removed the prospect of more important acquisitions, which he expected from this war, that he meditated defection, and began to treat with Chunda-saheb.

Both armies were equally sollicitous of the fate of the approaching reinforcement, and Mr. Dupleix sent repeated orders to Mr. Law, who commanded the French battalion, to intercept them at all events. They arrived on the 26th of March at a fort belonging to the king of Tanjore, within 20 miles of Tritchinopoly; where they deposited such part of the stores, as would have retarded their march and embarassed their operations. The next day proceeding along the high road, which passeth within point blank shot of Coiladdy, major Lawrence received intelligence that the enemy had posted at this fort a strong party with artillery: on which he ordered his guides to look out for another road; but they, by some mistake, led him within reach of the very spot he wanted to avoid, and the troops were unexpectedly fired upon by six pieces of cannon from across the Caveri. To divert this fire from the baggage, among which it created no small confusion, it was answered from the rear division of guns consisting of four field pieces, supported by 100 Europeans, under the command of captain Clive, whilst the line marched on inclining to the left, which direction soon brought them out of the enemy's reach, but not before 20 Europeans were killed. They then halted, and were joined by the rear division, after which they continued their march without meeting any farther interruption, and in the evening halted within 10 miles of Tritchinopoly. From hence captain Gingen detached in the night 100 Europeans, with 50 dragoons, who joined the reinforcement before morning; and at day-break captain Dalton was likewise detached from the city with his own company of grenadiers, and another of the battalion, in all 200 Europeans, 400 Sepoys, and four field pieces, who were ordered to lie at a rock called the Sugarloaf, about three miles south of the French rock, from whence they were to join the reinforcement, as soon as it came in sight.

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In the mean time the major advanced towards Elimiserum. This 1752 is a rock with a fortified pagoda on the summit, where the French had mounted cannon : it is situated three miles to the south-east of the French rock ; and between these two posts the greatest part of the enemy's army were drawn up in order of battle : the rest were in a line which extended from the French rock to the village of Chucklypollam by the river side. The major, informed of this disposition, made to surround him if he passed to the north of Elimiserum, directed his march to the south of it : and before he came in sight of the enemy, the whole of the confederate troops, employed for the Nabob, were in the field, and by their appearance deterred the enemy from making any detachments to attack the major. At noon, captain Dalton's party, with the Mysoreans and the Nabob's troops, met him half-way between Elimiserum and the sugar-loaf-rock, whilst Morari-row with the Morattoes remained skirmishing faintly with the enemy.

The sun striking excessively hot, the troops where ordered to halt and refresh themselves ; but in less than half an hour the scouts came in at full speed, bringing intelligence that the whole of the enemy's army was advancing, and that the fire of their cannon had put the Morattoes to flight : these soon after came up, and forming with the rest of the allies in the rear of the Europeans and Sepoys, followed them slowly at a distance.

Captain Clive having reconnoitred the enemy, reported, that there was a large choultry, with some stone buildings, not far from the front of the French battalion, which they, busied in forming their line, had neglected to take possession of. On this advice he was ordered to proceed with the first division of artillery, supported by the grenadiers, as fast as possible to the choultry, whilst the rest of the column moved up slowly in regular order. The enemy, instead of sending forward a detachment to prevent them, contented themselves with cannonading as their battalion advanced, which had approached within 800 yards of the choultry by the time the English detachment arrived there : and now made a push against their artillery, which was so well pointed, that it kept them at a distance until the rest of the battalion and Sepoys came up. The confederate troops, unwilling to expose their horses to a cannonade, halted at a distance ; but those

1752 those of Chunda-saheb, commanded by Allum-Khan, the governor of Madura, kept close to the rear of the French. A cannonade ensued, the hottest without doubt, for the time it lasted, that had ever been seen on the plains of Indostan; for the French fired from 22 pieces of cannon and the English from nine. Such of the English troops as were not employed at the guns found shelter behind the choultry and the buildings near it, whilst the whole of the enemy's army stood exposed on the open plain, suffering in proportion to this disadvantage. The French battalion in half an hour began to waver, and drew off their guns to a greater distance, upon which the English advanced their artillery, and the men of the battalion who supported them were ordered to sit down with their arms grounded; by which precaution many lives were saved. They still continued to retreat, but Chunda-saheb's cavalry kept their ground for some time, and sustained the cannonade with much more firmness than had ever been observed in the troops of India: they were spirited by the example of their commander, Allum-Khan, whose head was at length taken off by a cannon-ball, as he was encouraging them to advance; on which disaster they gave way and retreated likewise. The Captains Clive and Dalton continuing to advance with the first division of artillery, followed the French, who flung themselves into a great water-course near the French rock, where they were on the point of being enfiladed by a fire that would have made great havock amongst them; when major Lawrence, satisfied with the advantages that had been gained, and unwilling to expose the men to more fatigue under such a burning sun, ordered the pursuit to cease. Seven men of the battalion were struck dead by the heat, and 14 were killed or disabled by the cannonade. The French lost about 40 men; and 300 of Chunda-saheb's troops, with 285 horses and an elephant, were found dead on the plain. The success of this day might have been much greater, had the confederate troops behaved with common activity, instead of which they remained at a distance, idle spectators, nor could they be prevailed on to make a single charge, even when the enemy's cavalry retreated. This inaction proceeded not from want of bravery, but from the treachery of Morari-row, who being at this time in treaty with Chunda-saheb, was unwilling to bring his Morat-

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toes to action; and such was the opinion entertained of their courage, 1752
that none of the rest of the allies would venture to fight without them.

Major Lawrence continuing his march, arrived in the evening at Tritchinopoly, and the next day conferred with the Nabob and the other generals on the plan of their future operations: they concurred in opinion that a general attack should be made without delay on the enemy's camp; but when the time was to be fixed, he found both Moors and Indians so attached to lucky and unlucky days, that several were likely to be lost before they would agree in the notion of a fortunate hour, without which none of them thought it safe to risk an engagement. In the mean time, thinking it not prudent to suffer the enemy to recover from the impression which they had received on the day of his arrival, he determined to attempt as much against them as could be executed with his own force; and perceiving that the French posts were too strongly fortified to be carried without the assistance of the whole army, he resolved to attack the camp of Chunda-saheb, which extended along the river without entrenchments. On the 1st of April at night, captain Dalton, with 400 men, was ordered to march, and, by taking a large circuit, to come in at the eastern extremity of the enemy's camp, which he was to enter, beat up, and set fire to. The English troops, from their long inactivity, knew so little of the ground about Tritchinopoly, that they were obliged to trust to Indian guides; and these being ordered to conduct them out of the reach of the enemy's advanced posts, fell into the other extreme, and led them several miles out of their way, and through such bad roads, that when the morning star appeared, they found themselves between Elimiserum and the French rock, two miles from Chunda-saheb's camp, and in the center of all their posts. The approach of day not only rendered it impossible to surprize the enemy, as was intended, but likewise exposed the party, if they persisted, to the danger of being surrounded by their whole force: it was therefore determined to march back without delay to Tritchinopoly. The French discovered them as they were retreating, and guessing at the intention for which they had been sent, thought themselves no longer safe to the south of the Caveri, and took the resolution of retreating that

1752 very day to the pagodas on the island. Chunda-saheb strenuously opposed this resolution, for which indeed there appeared no necessity; but finding that he could not prevail on Mr. Law to alter it, he gave orders for his own troops to cross the river likewise. The retreat, as is usual when measures have not been previously concerted, was made with so much precipitation, that his army had time to transport only a part of their baggage, but none of the vast quantity of provisions with which they had stored their magazines; these they therefore set fire to. The French carrying off their artillery, abandoned all their posts excepting Elimiserum, and before the next morning the whole army was on the island, where Mr. Law took up his quarters in the pagoda of Jumbakistna; of Chunda-saheb's troops some went into the pagoda of Seringham, others encamped under the northern wall, and the rest extended farther eastward along the bank of the Coleroon.

The next day, captain Dalton was sent with the company of grenadiers, some Morattoes and Sepoys, to attack Elimiserum: the party had with them two pieces of cannon and a mortar, the transporting of which through bad roads prevented them from arriving near the place before night, when captain Dalton with two others advanced to reconnoitre. Discovering no centinels, and finding the gate of the wall which surrounds the foot of the rock open, they concluded that the place was abandoned, and entering, began to ascend the steps which led to the pagoda on the summit; but before they got there, the enemy, alarmed by the neighing of the horses, ran to their guns and fired upon the detachment, which they discovered, first by the light of their matches, and soon after by the blaze of some huts to which the Morattoes, as is there custom, had set fire. The smoke of the guns, and the darkness of the night, enabled captain Dalton and his companions to retreat unperceived; and as soon as he rejoined the detachment, he sent some men to lodge themselves under cover of a bank before the lower gate, where they were directed to remain until morning, in order to prevent the enemy from making their escape. But this party, desirous of signalizing themselves, imprudently exceeded their orders, and entering the lower gate, ran up the steps, and endeavoured to force the doors of the pagoda above; where

where they were received with a smart fire, which soon obliged them 1752
to retreat with five Europeans and ten Sepoys wounded. A reinforcement was immediately sent to take charge of the bank, and all remained quiet until morning, when the enemy, perceiving that preparations were making to bombard them, surrendered. Fifteen Europeans, thirty Sepoys, and two pieces of cannon, one of them a fine 18 pounder, were found here ; the smaller piece of cannon, with some Sepoys, were left to garrison this post ; the rest returned with the other gun to Tritchinopoly, which was presented to the Nabob, as the first which had been taken during the campaign. Two days after the grenadiers, who had always behaved with the spirit peculiar to this class of soldiers, gained another advantage. The great men of the allied army complained, that they were much disturbed in their daily ablutions in the Caveri, by a gun which fired from the choultry lying half-way between the pagoda of Seringham and the river. Captain Dalton was sent to attack this post who concealed his men behind an old wall on the bank of the river, where they waited till near noon, when the great heat of the sun induced a part of the enemy's guard to return to the camp, and the rest to retire into the choultry to sleep : the grenadiers then rushed across the river, which was fordable, and entered the post with so much rapidity that they took the gun before the enemy had time to fire it more than once : it was brought away without any opposition, for some field pieces had been sent to the river-side to cover the retreat.

Events of such a nature as the attacks of Elimiserum and the choultry, as well as several others, which appear in the course of this work, would have no influence in such sanguinary wars as most writers have only thought worthy of their attention : and these details may therefore by many be deemed equally tiresome and superfluous ; but the stress of this Indian war lying on the European allies, who rarely have exceeded a thousand men on a side, the actions of a single platoon in India may have the same influence on the general success, as the conduct of a whole regiment in Europe : and to give a just idea of the superiority of European Arms, when opposed to those of Indostan, is one of the principal intentions of this narrative. The new activity which began to appear in the English battalion, induced Morari-row

1752 to relinquish his correspondence with Chunda-saheb, and impressed the enemy with terrors equal to those which they had formerly raised both in the English and the Nabob's army: there seemed to be no sense in their councils. The whole Carnatic lay before them, and by retreating into it they might protract the war until the want of money should decide the contest; but instead of taking this step, they suffered themselves to be captivated by the apparent strength of the two pagodas, and determined to stand their ground in them, notwithstanding that, by the distruction of their magazines, they were already reduced to the necessity of fetching their provisions from a great distance: they were afraid to fight, and ashamed to retreat.

At the same time nothing but a resolution, justified by very few examples, and bordering in appearance on rashness, seemed capable of putting a speedy end to the war, of which the expences had now greatly distressed the East India company's mercantile affairs. The intimacy and confidence with which major Lawrence distinguished capt. Clive, permitted this officer to suggest to him the resolution of dividing the army into two bodies, and detaching one of these under his command to the north of the Coleroon, whilst the other remained to the south of the Caveri: this was risquing the whole to gain the whole; for if the enemy should overpower one of these bodies, by attacking it with their whole force, the Nabob's affairs would again be reduced to the brink of ruin; and if they neglected or failed in this attempt, they would infallibly be ruined themselves. The proposal, hardy as it was, was adopted by the major without any hesitation; and with a spirit of equity rarely possessed by competitors for glory, he was so far from taking umbrage at the author of this masterly, advice, that he determined in his own mind to give him the command of the separate body, although he refrained from declaring his intention, until he could reconcile it to the rest of the captains in the battalion, who were all of them his superiors in rank; but the scheme was no sooner proposed to the Nabob and the generals of the alliance, than the Morattoes and Mysoreans removed the difficulty, by declaring that they would not make any detachments of their troops if they were to be commanded by any other person. It was necessary to reduce the posts of which the enemy were in possession to the north of the Coleroon:

roon: to intercept the reinforcements which might come from Pondicherry through the streights of Utatoor; and above all, that captain Clive's division should not be out of the reach of a forced march from the rest of the army encamped near Tritchinopoly, lest the whole of the enemy's force should fall upon him before major Lawrence could move to his assistance. It was therefore determined to chuse such a central situation between the streights of Utatoor and the Coleroon as would best answer all these intentions. Every thing being settled, captain Clive began his march in the night of the 6th of April with 400 Europeans, 700 Sepoys, 3000 Morattoes under the command of Innis-Khan, 1000 of the Tanjorine horse, and eight pieces of artillery, two of which were battering cannon, and six of them field pieces. To conceal their march, they crossed over into the island three miles to the eastward of Jumbakistna. The number of deep water-courses which intersected this part of it, rendered the transporting of the cannon difficult and laborious; and whilst the Europeans were employed at one of the water-courses, a body of the enemy's Sepoys, returning from Coiladdy with a convoy of oxen laden with provisions, came up, intending to pass at the same place; and before they could retreat, received two or three vollies, which killed several of them. 1752

The troops having passed the Coleroon before morning, proceeded seven miles to the north of it, and took possession of the village of Samiavaram, in which are two pagodas about a quarter of a mile distant from each other, one on each side of the high road leading to Utatoor: these were allotted for the quarters of the Europeans and Sepoys; ravelins were immediately flung up before the gates, and a redoubt capable of receiving all the cannon was constructed to command the road to the north and south. The Morattoes and Tanjorines encamped round the pagodas.

Whilst the army were employed in these works, a party from Seringham took possession of Munsurpett, a pagoda situated near the high road between Pitchandah and Samiavaram. It commanded a view of the country several miles; which advantage, joined to that of its situation, rendered it the best advanced post that could be chosen by either side; a detachment was therefore immediately sent to dislodge

1752 lodge the enemy, who defended themselves all day, killing an officer, three Europeans, and 10 Sepoys, and in the night made their escape to Pitchandah undiscovered.

The next day a party of Sepoys, with a few Europeans, were detached to attack Lalguddy, a mud fort situated about seven miles to the east of Seringham, close to the bank of the Coleroon, and opposite to the eastern part of the enemy's late encampment to the south of the Caveri. They kept a garrison of Sepoys here, intending to make it an intermediate magazine of provisions, which were to be brought from hence to their camp on the island as opportunity offered. The Sepoy attacking the fort by escalade, carried it after a faint resistance, and found in it a quantity of grain sufficient for ten thousand men for two months.

Mr. Dupleix, against whose orders Mr. Law had retreated to the north of the Caveri, was much alarmed at the critical situation to which the army of Chunda-saheb and his own troops were reduced. He, however, with his usual perseverance and activity, determined to make the greatest efforts he was able to reinforce them; and immediately on receiving news that captain Clive was encamped at Samiavaram, detached 120 Europeans, 500 Sepoys, and four field pieces, with a large convoy of provisions and stores. This party was led by Mr. D'Auteuil, who was empowered to take the command from Mr. Law. They arrived on the 14th of April at Utatoor, and intended, by making a large circuit to the west of Samiavaram, to gain in the night the bank of the Coleroon. The fate of the two armies depended in a great measure upon the success or miscarriage of this convoy and reinforcement. Captain Clive, apprized of Mr. D'Auteuil's intention, set out the same night with the greatest part of his force to intercept him; but Mr. D'Auteuil receiving advice of his approach, immediately turned back and regained the fort; on which captain Clive returned with the utmost expedition to Samiavaram, where he arrived in the morning. In the afternoon, Mr. Law got intelligence of his march, without hearing of his return, which could not naturally be suspected, as Utatoor is 13 miles from Samiavaram: he therefore, as soon as it was dark, detached 80 Europeans, and 700 Sepoys,

Sepoys, to attack the few troops he imagined to be remaining there : of these men forty were English deserters. This party arrived near the camp at midnight, when one of their spies informed the commanding officer that the troops which had marched against Mr. D'Auteuil were returned ; but he, imputing the information either to cowardice, or treachery, gave no credit to the spy, and proceeded ; they were challenged by the advanced guard of English Sepoys, on which the officer of the deserters, an Irishman, stept out and told them, that he was sent by major Lawrence to reinforce captain Clive : and the rest of the deserters speaking English likewise, confirmed the assertion and persuaded the Sepoys so fully, that they omitted the usual precaution of asking the counter word, which would certainly have discovered the stratagem : and sent one of their body to conduct the enemy to the head quarters. They continued their march through a part of the Morattoe camp, without giving or receiving any disturbance until they came to the lesser pagoda. Here they were challenged by the centinels, and by others who were posted in a neighbouring choultry to the north of it ; in which captain Clive lay asleep. They returned the challenge by a volley into each place, and immediately entered the pagoda, putting all they met to the sword. Captain Clive starting out of his sleep, and not conceiving it possible that the enemy could have advanced into the center of his camp, imputed the firing to his own Sepoys, alarmed by some attack at the outskirts : he however ran to the upper pagoda, where the greatest part of his Europeans were quartered, who having likewise taken the alarm, were under arms ; and he immediately returned with 200 of them to the choultry. Here he now discovered a large body of Sepoys drawn up facing the south, and firing at random. Their position, which looked towards the enemy's encampment, joined to their confusion, confirmed him in his conjecture that they were his own troops, who had taken some unnecessary alert. In this supposition he drew up his Europeans, within 20 yards of their rear, and then going alone amongst them, ordered the firing to cease, upbraiding some with the panic he supposed them to have taken, and even striking others. At length one of the Sepoys, who understood a little of the French language, discovering that he was an

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1752 Englishman, attacked and wounded him in two places with his sword; but finding himself on the point of being overpowered, ran away to the lower pagoda: captain Clive, exasperated at this insolence from a man whom he imagined to be in his own service, followed him to the gate, where, to his great surprize, he was accosted by six Frenchmen: his usual presence of mind did not fail him in this critical occasion, but suggesting to him all that had happened, he told the Frenchmen, with great composure, that he was come to offer them terms; and if they would look out, they would perceive the pagoda surrounded by his whole army, who were determined to give no quarter if any resistance were made. The firmness with which these words were delivered, made such an impression, that three of the Frenchmen ran into the pagoda to carry this intelligence, whilst the other three surrendered their arms to captain Clive, and followed him towards the choultry, whither he hastened, intending to order the Europeans to attack the body of Sepoys, whom he now first knew to be enemies; but these had already discovered the danger of their situation, and had marched out of the reach of the Europeans, who imagining that they did this in obedience to captain Clive's orders, made no motion to interrupt or attack them. Soon after, eight Frenchmen, who had been sent from the pagoda to reconnoitre, fell in with the English troops, and were made prisoners; and these, with the other three which captain Clive had taken, were delivered to the charge of a serjeant's party, who not knowing in this time of darkness and confusion, that the enemy were in possession of the lower pagoda, carried them thither; and on delivering them to the guard, found out their error; but such was also the confusion of the French in the pagoda, that they suffered the serjeant and his party to return unmolested. The rest of the English troops had now joined the others, and captain Clive imagining that the enemy would never have attempted so desperate an enterprize without supporting it with their whole army, deemed it absolutely necessary to storm the pagoda before the troops who were in it could receive any assistance. One of the two folding doors of the gateway had for some time been taken down to be repaired, and the other was strongly stapled down, so that the remaining part of the

the entrance would admit only two men abreast: the English soldiers 1752
made the attack, and continued it for some time with great resolution; but the deserters within fought desperately, and killed an officer and fifteen men, on which the attack was ordered to cease until day-break; and in the mean time such a disposition was made as might prevent those in the pagoda from escaping, and at the same time oppose any other body which might come to their relief. At day-break the commanding officer of the French seeing the danger of his situation, made a sally at the head of his men, who received so heavy a fire, that he himself, with twelve others who first came out of the gateway were killed by the volley; on which the rest ran back into the pagoda. Captain Clive then advanced into the porch of the gate to parly with the enemy, and being weak with the loss of blood, and fatigue, stood with his back to the wall of the porch, and leaned, stooping forward, on the shoulders of two serjeants. The officer of the English deserters presented himself with great insolence, and telling Captain Clive with abusive language, that he would shoot him, fired his musket. The ball missed him, but went through the bodies of both the serjeants on whom he was leaning, and they both fell mortally wounded. The Frenchmen had hitherto defended the pagoda in compliance with the English deserters, but thinking it necessary to disavow such an outrage, which might exclude them from any pretentions to quarter, their officer immediately surrendered. By this time the body of the enemy's Sepoys had passed out of the camp with as little interruption as they had entered it: but orders having been sent to the Morattoes to pursue them, Innis-Khan with all his men mounted at day-break, and came up with them in the open plain before they gained the bank of the Coleroon. The Sepoys no sooner perceived them than they flung away their arms, and attempted to save themselves by dispersing; but the Morattoes, who never figure so much as in these cruel exploits, exerted themselves with such activity, that, according to their own report, not a single man of 700 escaped alive; it is certain that none of them ever appeared to contradict this assertion. Besides the escapes already mentioned, captain Clive had another, which was not discovered until the hurry of the day was over, when it was found that the volley which the enemy

1752 fired into the choultry where he was sleeping had shattered a box that lay under his feet, and killed a servant who lay close to him.

Pitchandah and Utatoor were now the only posts which the enemy held to the north of the Coleroon, but they were in possession of Coiladdy, which commands the eastern extremity of the island; and lest Mr. Law should attempt to force his way on this side, major Lawrence detached Monack-jee the general of the Tanjorines to take it; and to the south of the Caveri, where the enemy had no posts, a line of troops were disposed, which extended five miles on each side of the city of Tritchinopoly.

Monack-jee on the 26th of April took Coiladdy, and the enemy losing here their last magazine of provisions, became every day more and more distressed; but the hopes of being joined by Mr. D'Auteuil kept up their spirits, and prevented them from making any attempts to get out of the island: he still remained at Utatoor watching some opportunity to make his way good to Seringham: it was therefore determined to attack him; but as the late attempt on Samiavaram shewed the necessity of keeping the army there intire, major Lawrence resolved to send a party from his own division on this service. Accordingly captain Dalton on the 9th of May crossed the rivers in the night with 150 Europeans, 400 Sepoys, 500 Morattoes, and four field pieces, one of them a 12 pounder; and halting some hours at Samiavaram, arrived at five the next evening at a choultry within two miles of Utatoor, where he intended to pass the night, as the troops were much fatigued. There was at some distance in front of the choultry a village, which appearing a proper post for an advanced guard, some dragoons were sent to reconnoitre it, who discovered that the enemy had already taken possession of it; on which a party of Europeans and Sepoys were sent to dislodge them; which they effected with so much ease, that, flushed with their success, they pursued the enemy beyond the village, until they came in sight of Mr. D'Auteuil marching out of Utatoor, who, instead of waiting to attack with his whole force, sent forward a party to fall upon the English whilst they were forming; a skirmish ensued, and the enemy was repulsed; but the English officer being mortally wounded, the detach-

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ment retreated to the village, where they remained, and sustained the 1752
fire of the enemy's cannon until the rest of the troops came up. It was almost dusk, and captain Dalton concluding that the enemy might be deceived in their opinion of his strength, and mistake it for the whole of captain Clive's force, ventured to divide his men into two bodies, who marched to attack each flank of the enemy's line, whilst a few Europeans left with the guns near the village cannonaded them in front. Mr. D'Auteuil no sooner perceived this disposition than it suggested to him the opinion it was intended to produce, and he retreated with great precipitation, pursued within a few yards of the walls of Utatoor: the English were on the point of getting possession of one of his guns, when they were obliged to halt and face about, to defend themselves against the enemy's cavalry, who taking advantage of the dusk of the evening, had made a circuit, and appeared unexpectedly in their rear. The Morattoes however galloping in, flung themselves between, and the two bodies of cavalry remained some time firing carabines and pistols, until one of the English 6 pounders came up, which after a few shot decided the contest, and obliged the enemy's horse to retreat; the Morattoes then charged them sword in hand, and drove them into the fort; but not without suffering themselves; for several of them returned much wounded. The English fired at the fort from the rocks which are close to the walls until eight o'clock, when they retreated back to the choultry, leaving an advanced guard of Europeans at the village, and 200 Morattoes, who promised to patrole all night, and give immediate information if the enemy should make any motion to abandon the fort.

Mr. D'Auteuil continuing in his mistake concerning the force which was come against him, no sooner found that they had returned to the choultry, than he quitted the fort with all his troops, and marched away to Volcondah, leaving behind in the hurry a great quantity of military stores and ammunition, as well as refreshments intended for the officers of Mr. Law's army. The Morattoes performed the duty they had undertaken with so little vigilance, that captain Dalton did not hear of the enemies retreat until two in the

 morning,

1752 morning, when it was too late to pursue them: he, however, marched to the fort, and took possession of the stores which the enemy had left in it.

Mr. Law received no intelligence of captain Dalton's march across the rivers; but the next morning discovering from the spire of Seringham, the detachment proceeding from Samiavaram towards Utatoor, imagined it to be a part of captain Clive's army; and on this supposition crossed the Coleroon with all his Europeans and Sepoys, and a large body of cavalry. Captain Clive immediately marched to meet him with all his troops, excepting the guards necessary to defend the approaches to his camp, and came in sight of the enemy just as their rear had crossed the river. Mr. Law, startled at the appearance of a force which so much exceeded his expectation, halted and formed his line in a strong situation along the bank of the river. Both armies remained in order of battle until evening, each having advantages which the other respected too much to venture to attack. Some skirmishes passed between the advanced Sepoys, and in the night the French re-crossed the river.

Captain Dalton remained two days at Utatoor, when he received orders to rejoin major Lawrence; but by this time the Coleroon was so much swelled as to be impassable, and the troops at Samiavaram were preparing to avail themselves of this opportunity to attack the enemy's post of Pitchandah, which could receive no succours from the island till the waters subsided: he therefore, to forward this service, put his detachment under captain Clive's command; and to prevent the disputes which might arise from the superiority of his rank, resolved to act himself as a volunteer. On the 14th at night the army moved down to the river-side.

There runs along the northern bank of the Coleroon, from Pitchandah to the ground opposite the great pagoda of Seringham, a large mound of earth 50 feet broad at the top, thrown up by the people of the country to resist the current of the river, which in this part sets strongly from the opposite shore whenever the waters rise. The enemy's camp on the island lay opposite and within cannon-shot of this mound; it was therefore determined to employ the artillery against them, until the battery against Pitchandah could be finished.

Every

Every common soldier in an Indian army is accompanied either by 1752
a wife or a concubine; the officers have several, and the generals whole seraglio's: besides these the army is encumbered by a number of attendants and servants exceeding that of the fighting men; and to supply the various wants of this enervated multitude, dealers, pedlars, and retailers of all sorts, follow the camp; to whom a separate quarter is allotted, in which they daily exhibit their different commodities in greater quantities and with more regularity than in any fair in Europe; all of them sitting on the ground in a line with their merchandises exposed before them, and sheltered from the sun by a mat supported by sticks.

The next morning, the 15th, at sun-rise, six pieces of cannon began to fire upon the camp from embrasures cut through the top of the mound, which sheltered them from the guns of Pitchandah. This unexpected annoyance soon created the greatest confusion: the enemy began immediately to strike their tents, and every one to remove every thing that was either valuable or dear to him: elephants, camels, oxen and horses, mingled with men, women and children affrighted and making lamentable outcries at the destruction which fell around them, pressed to get out of the reach of it in such a hurry as only served to retard their flight: however, in two hours not a tent was standing. The crowd first moved between the pagodas of Seringham and Jumbakistna, towards the bank of the Caveri, and from this side they were fired on by the guns of Tritchinopoly: they then hurried to the eastward of Jumbakistna, where finding themselves out of the reach of danger, they began to set up their tents again. The garrison of Pitchandah attempted to interrupt the cannonade; and finding that their artillery had no effect to dismount the English guns covered by the mound, they made a sally to seize them, but had not proceeded far before they received the fire of a detachment, which captain Clive had taken the precaution to post in the way they were coming; and this instantly drove them back again, not without some loss.

During the rest of the day, the English troops were employed in erecting the battery in a ruined village, about 200 yards to the north of Pitchandah. The pagoda, like most others on the coast of Coromandel, is a square, of which the gateways projecting beyond the walls,

1752 walls, flank the angles: the French had 70 Europeans, 200 Sepoys, and three pieces of cannon in the place. The attack began the next morning at day-break, from two pieces of battering cannon, which fired from embrasures cut through the wall of a brick house; the shock soon brought down the wall, and left the artillery-men for some time exposed; but a large body of Sepoys being ordered to keep a constant fire on the parapet, the enemy were very cautious in making use either of their small arms or cannon. Some time after one of the English guns burst, and killed three Europeans, and wounded captain Dalton; the breach nevertheless was made practicable by four in the afternoon, when it was determined to storm the breach and escalade the walls at the same time. The enemy seeing the preparations for the assault, were discouraged, and beat the chamade. The Sepoys mistaking this signal of surrender for a defiance, fired a volley, which killed the drummer, and then giving a shout, ran to plant the colours on the breach. This motion was so rapid and unexpected, that they got to the top of it before any of the English officers were able to come up and inform them of their mistake, which they were unluckily confirmed in by the behaviour of some of the garrison, who drew up as fast as they could to defend themselves. A body of Europeans immediately marched after them, with orders to repress their violences, even by firing upon them, if necessary: but they did not arrive before the Sepoys had killed several of the garrison, and struck such a terror that 15 Frenchmen jumped over the walls into the Coleroon, where they were drowned. The rest surrendered to the Europeans, whose presence preserved them from another risque equal to that which they had just escaped; for the Morattoes, seeing the Sepoys in motion, imagined that they would carry off all the plunder of the place; and resolving to have a share of it themselves, they mounted and galloped up sword in hand to the breach: and several of them even rode up to the top of it. The enemy's army on the island were spectators of the whole attack, and fired, to very little effect, a great number of random shot at the village in which the English were posted.

By the reduction of Pitchandah, the enemy's communications with the country to the north of the Coleroon were intirely cut off, and their Indian

Indian camp became again exposed to a cannonade. The dread of this, and of the many other distresses which straitened the army more closely every day, determined the greatest part of Chunda-saheb's officers to quit his service; and they went in a body and informed him of this resolution. He heard it with great temper, and instead of reproaching them for deserting him, said, that if they had not prevented him, he should of himself have proposed what they desired; that although he was not able to discharge the whole of their arrears, they might be assured he would punctually acquit himself of all his obligations whensoever his better fortune should return; and, as a proof of his sincerity, he offered to deliver up to them the greatest part of his elephants, camels, horses, and other military effects, which they received at a valuation in part of what he was indebted to them. 1752

The next day these officers sent messengers to the confederates, some offering to take service, others desiring to pass through their posts: but the Indian allies, who had for some time regarded the whole of the enemy's baggage as a booty which could not escape them, hesitated to comply with their request; and the Morattoes particularly, who scarcely rate the life of a man at the value of his turban, were averse to the granting of any terms which might hinder them from exerting their sabres to get the spoil, being persuaded that, if hostilities were carried on to extremity, their activity would acquire much the larger share of it. The English frustrated these cruel intentions, by determining to give their own passports, if the rest of the allies persisted in refusing; upon which they consented to give theirs likewise.

Accordingly flags were planted on the banks of the Caveri and Coleroon, as a signal to the enemy's troops that they might pass over in security. Two thousand of Chunda-saheb's best horse, and 1500 Sepoys, joined captain Clive at Samiavaram; others went to the Mysoreans; very few to the Nabob: the troops of Morawar and Madura, and other independent bodies, returned into their own countries. On the 4th day not a tent was standing in the island; and there remained with Chunda-saheb no more than 2000 horse and 3000 foot, who took

1752 took shelter in the pagoda of Seringham: amongst the foot were 1000 Rajpoots who, from a motive of religion, undertook to defend the inward temples against all intruders. The French battalion, with 2000 Sepoys, shut themselves up in Jumbakistna, giving out, as is the custom of that nation, that they intended to defend themselves to the last extremity. They preferred this to the other pagoda, because its outward wall was in a better condition, and its smaller extent better proportioned to the number of their troops.

The artillery of Tritchinopoly and the allied army furnishing no more than three pieces of battering cannon, a train was ordered from Devi Cotah; and to lose no opportunity of increasing the enemy's distresses before it arrived, major Lawrence on the 18th of May, the same day that the French withdrew into the pagoda, quitted his post at Chuckly-pollam, and encamping opposite to it on the island, immediately threw up an entrenchment from one river to the other: at the same time Monack-jee with the Tanjorines moving from the eastward, took possession of Chuckly-pollam; and the army at Samiavaram quitting that post, encamped along the northern bank of the Coleroon. The Mysoreans remained, as before, to the west of the city.

But although the obstacles which now surrounded the enemy were difficult to be overcome, they were not absolutely insurmountable. The troops in Jumbakistna outnumbered those in the major's camp two to one, and both the rivers swelling often at this season of the year, Mr. Law might force his way through it before any succours could come from the main land: if successful in this attempt, he might, as soon as the rivers began to fall, cross the Caveri at some pass farther to the eastward, before captain Clive's division would be able to pass the Coleroon, as this being the deeper channel, does not become fordable again so soon as the other: he might then by hasty marches make his way good to Karical, harassed indeed in his rout by Mysoreans and Morattoes, who, unsupported by the English troops, would probably make few vigorous efforts against a compact body of European infantry provided with a well-appointed train of artillery: but such a plan implied an option of difficulties not to be expected from troops dispirited

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by ill success, and commanded by officers of no great talents ; nor does it appear that the French ever entertained any thoughts of carrying it into execution. They flattered themselves in their irresolute councils, that Mr. D'Auteuil would make his way good into the island, notwithstanding this attempt was now become more difficult than ever ; and they hoped, with the supplies he was bringing, to protract the defence of the pagoda to the end of June, at which time ships were expected at Pondicherry with a considerable reinforcement of troops from France ; however, for fear of the worst, Mr. Law determined to take such measures as he thought would place the person of Chunda-saheb out of danger. 1752

Deserters informing the English how much the enemy's future resolutions depended on the arrival of Mr. D'Auteuil's convoy, it was determined to make another attempt against that reinforcement ; but as it was reported that they were in possession of all the fortifications at Vol-condah, it was thought necessary, if possible, to bring the governor over to the Nabob's interest. A letter was written to him full of promises : the man changing sides with fortune, answered, that although he had permitted Mr. D'Auteuil to take up his quarters in the pettah, he had not suffered him to take possession either of the stone fort, or the fortifications of the rock ; and that if any troops were sent to attack the French, he would assist to destroy them. About the same time Mr. D'Auteuil, pressed by the repeated sollicitations of Mr. Law, quitted Vol-condah, and to conceal some other plan gave out that he intended to retake the fort of Utatoor. Such an opportunity of attacking him was more to be relied on than the promises of the governor, and captain Clive marched against him without delay.

He left a strong garrison in Pitchandah, and in his camp a number of troops sufficient by well contrived dispositions, to prevent Mr. Law from suspecting the absence of the force he took with him, which consisted of 100 Europeans, 1000 Sepoys, and 2000 Morattoe horse, with six field pieces, They set out on the 27th of May in the evening, and arrived before morning at Utatoor, where they shut themselves up in the fort all that day and the ensuing night, in hopes

1752 that Mr. D'Auteuil would inadvertently come near enough to give them an opportunity of falling upon him on the plain before he could regain Vol-condah. He did indeed advance within seven miles of Utatoor ; but either from some rumour, or suspicion, his courage failed him on a sudden, and he took the resolution of returning in great haste to the place from whence he came. Captain Clive was no sooner informed of his retreat than he set out in pursuit of him, and early in the morning sent the Morattoes before, instructing them to keep their main body out of sight, and to endeavour to harrass and retard the enemy's march with small parties, such as might be mistaken for detachments sent only in quest of plunder, and prevent them from suspecting any thing more. Some of them came up with the enemy in the afternoon, within a league of Vol-condah, and amused Mr. D'Auteuil so well, that he, hoping to entice them within reach of his fire, wasted some time in making evolutions ; but greater numbers coming in sight, he began to suspect the stratagem, and forming his men in a column with two field pieces in front, retreated. By this time the whole body of Morattoes came up and hovered round him until he reached Vol-condah, where he drew up between the mud wall of the pettah and the river Valarru, which was almost dry. Soon after the Sepoys, who formed the van of the English column, appeared outmarching the Europeans at a great rate ; 600 of them had, in the enemy's service, stormed the breaches at the assault of Arcot, and having since that time been employed in the English service in several actions under the command of captain Clive, entertained no small opinion of their own prowess when supported by a body of Europeans. These men no sooner came within cannon-shot of the enemy, than they ran precipitately to attack them, without regarding any order. They received the fire of the enemy's cannon, and musketry, which killed many of them, but did not check the rest from rushing on to the push of bayonet. The Morattoes, animated by such an example, galloped across the river, and charging the flanks, increased the confusion, which the Sepoys had made in the center. The attack was two general and impetuous to be long resisted, and the enemy retired hastily through the

the barrier into the pettah, where they began to make resistance again 1752
by firing over the mud wall. By this time the Europeans came up, and assaulting the barrier, soon forced their way and put the enemy to flight a second time, who now ran to take shelter in the stone fort, where the governor, according to his promise, shut the gate; but some of them getting over the walls with scaling ladders, in an unguarded part, opened the gate, in spite of the garrison, and let in their fellow fugitives. This passed whilst the English troops, cautious of dispersing in a place they were not acquainted with, were forming to follow them in order, and soon after the field pieces began to fire upon the gate, whilst the musketry under shelter, of the houses deterred the enemy from appearing on the ramparts. Mr. D'Auteuil therefore, as the last resource, attempted to get into the fortifications of the adjacent rock; but the governor, who was there in person, sent him word, that if he persisted in using any violence he would fire into the fort. In this perplexity, which the night increased, he consulted his officers, who unanimously agreed to surrender. The white flag was hung out, and the terms were soon settled. It was agreed, that the deserters should be pardoned, that the French commissioned officers should not serve against the Nabob for 12 months, and the private men remain prisoners of war at his discretion. The whole party consisted of 100 Europeans, of which 35 were English deserters, 400 Sepoys, and 340 horse. Their artillery was only three pieces of cannon, but there was found in the pettah three large magazines, which, besides a variety of other military stores, contained 800 barrels of gun-powder and 3000 muskets. It was known that Mr. D'Auteuil had with him a large sum of money, but he secreted great part of it amongst his own baggage, which he was permitted to carry away without examination: the troops on both sides embezzled part of the remainder: so that only 50,000 rupees were regularly taken possession of for the use of the captors; whose booty, exclusive of the military stores, which were reserved for the Company, amounted to 10,000 pounds sterling: the horsemen and Sepoys were, as usual, disarmed and set at liberty, and captain Clive returned to his camp with the rest of the prisoners.

1752 The French at Jumbakistna were apprized of the march of the troops to intercept Mr. D'Auteuil, and had before received from him such a description of the difficulties which obstructed his passage as destroyed the hopes they had too fondly entertained of this resource; their provisions likewise began to fail. The straits to which they were reduced had for sometime been foreseen by Chunda-saheb, and he had often represented to Mr. Law the necessity of making a vigorous effort to extricate themselves; but finding that his remonstrances were not heeded, the usual steadiness of his mind began to fail him, and he gave way to an anxiety, which increasing with the prospect of his distresses, greatly impaired his health. At the same time Mr. Law was not a little sollicitous about the safety of a person of such great importance, whom his own irresolute conduct had brought into the dangers which now surrounded him. He thought, and perhaps justly, that if Chunda-saheb should be obliged to surrender, the Nabob would never agree to spare the life of his rival; and from the prejudices of national animosity, he concluded that if the English got him into their power, they would not with-hold him from the Nabob's resentment: he therefore suggested to his ally the necessity of attempting to make his escape, by bribing some chief of the confederate army to permit him to pass through his quarters. Chunda-saheb, sensible of his desperate situation, consented to try this desperate remedy, forced by the severity of his fate to make an option on which his life depended, when every choice presented almost equal danger. The Nabob was out of the question; the Mysoreans he knew would make use of him as a means to oblige the Nabob to fulfil the agreements he had made with them, and the Morattoes would sell him to the highest bidder of the two: the Polygars were not strong enough, nor were their troops situated conveniently to favour his escape. There remained the Tanjorines; these had formerly received injuries from Chunda-saheb, and more lately had seen their capital besieged by him; so that had their troops been commanded by the king in person, it would have been as absurd to repose a confidence in them as in any other of the allies; but it was known that their general Monack-jee was at open variance with the prime minister, who

who had on all occasions prevented the king from distinguishing him 1752
with those marks of gratitude his military services deserved. It was therefore thought not impracticable to separate the interests of the general from those of his sovereign; and this feeble glimmering ray of hope was followed, only because no other presented itself.

Monack-jee received the overture, and carried on the correspondence with so much address and seeming complacence, as induced Mr. Law and Chunda-saheb to think they had gained him over to their interest: a large sum of money was paid, and much more, with every other advantage he thought proper to stipulate, promised: but the hour Chunda-saheb was to deliver himself into his hands was not fixed, when on the 31st of May the battering cannon arrived from Devi Cotah, and Mr. Law received a summons to surrender at discretion. Monack-jee now acting as a friend, sent at the same time a message advising Chunda-saheb to come over to him that very night, since, if he delayed to make his escape before the English advanced nearer the pagodas, which they were preparing to batter, his passage to Chuckly-pollam would afterwards be subject to infinite risques.

In order therefore to prevent the English from taking any suspicions of this important resolution before it was carried into effect, Mr. Law, not unsagaciously, made use of the highest spirit of rodomontade in his answer to major Lawrence. He talked of defending the pagoda until the last extremity, unless he was permitted to march away with all the troops under his command wherever he pleased; insisting likewise, that no search should be made after any person under his colours. On these conditions he was willing to deliver up one half of his artillery.

As soon as it was night, Mr. Law himself repaired privately to Monack-jee's quarters, where, amongst other precautions, he demanded, that a considerable hostage should be delivered before Chunda-saheb put himself into Monack-jee's power. To this the Tanjorine answered with great calmness, that if any intentions of treachery were entertained, no hostage would be a check to them; and that by giving one, the secret would be divulged, and the escape rendered impracticable. He, however, took an oath, the most

sacred

1752 sacred of all to an Indian soldier, on his sabre and poniard, wishing they might be turned to his own destruction if he failed in his engagements, which were to send away Chunda-saheb as soon as he came into his quarters, with an escort of horse, to the French settlement of Karical. At the same time a Tanjorine officer assured Mr. Law that he was appointed to command the escort, and shewed the pallankin and other preparations which were intended for the journey. Mr. Law and the officer then repaired to a choultry, were Chunda-saheb himself, with a few attendants, waited the result of the conference. As soon as he had heard it related, he proceeded with the Tanjorine to Monack-jee's quarters, where, instead of the escort he expected, he was met by a guard patroling for him, who carried him with violence into a tent, where they immediately put him into irons.

The news was instantly communicated to the Nabob, the Mysorean and Morattoe, and kept them up all night debating on the fate of the prisoner. The next morning they repaired together with Monack-jee to major Lawrence's tent, in whose presence they held a council. Each of them insisted that Chunda-saheb ought to be delivered to himself, supporting the demand with the superior importance each thought he bore in the general cause; but Monack-jee firmly refused to give his prize out of his own hands. The major had hitherto remained silent, but finding that the dissention was irreconcileable, proposed that the English should have the care of him, and keep him in one of their settlements. They were all of them averse to this scheme, and broke up the conference without coming to any resolution: the three competitors in high indignation against one another, and against Monack-jee, who had moreover the mortification of seeing that the treachery he had committed was so far from being acknowledged as a service rendered to the general cause, that the Mysorean, the Morattoe, and perhaps the Nabob himself, wished in the bottom of their hearts that Chunda-saheb had not been taken, since they had not the disposal of him in their own power.

Immediately after the conference, major Lawrence sent another summons to Mr. Law, more peremptory than the former: for a decisive answer was demanded before noon the next day: after which

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his flags of truce would be fired upon ; and if the batteries once 1752 began to play, it was declared that every man in the pagoda should be put to the sword.

He had already been informd of the fate of his ally, and had heard a rumour of the defeat at Vol-condah, but this he did not entirely give credit to ; when convinced of it by the report of one of his own officers who had seen Mr. D'Auteuil in the English camp, he desired a personal conference with major Lawrence, which, after several messages, was agreed to be held the next day.

He began, by asserting that the peace which existed between the two crowns, entitled him to expect from the English every mark of consideration for the French troops, since they were now left unconnected with any powers contending in the Carnatic, by the dispersion of Chunda-saheb's army, and the imprisonment of its leader ; he therefore expected that the English would, instead of acting as enemies, contribute as allies to facilitate the retreat of his army into the French settlements. Major Lawrence replied, that he acted in the conference only as the interpreter of the Nabob's intentions, with whom the English were in close alliance ; and as a justification of the Nabob's conduct, produced a letter in which Mr. Dupleix had declared that he would never cease to pursue him whilst a single Frenchman remained in India.

After several other altercations, which produced little change in the terms first proposed, the capitulation was signed. It was agreed that the pagoda of Jumbakistna should be delivered up, with all the guns, stores, and ammunition ; that the officers should give their parole not to serve against the Nabob or his allies ; that the private men of the battalion, Europeans, Coffrees and Topasses, should remain prisoners ; and that the deserters should be pardoned.

The troops with captain Clive were then ordered to rejoin the major's division, and the next morning, before break of day, captain Dalton marched with 250 chosen men, who halted, beating their drums at an abandoned out-post within pistol-shot of the walls of Jumbakistna, whilst the major remained not far off with the rest of the troops, drawn up ready to prevent the effect of any treachery ; but

1752 but none was intended : for Mr. Law soon came out with some of his officers, and conducted the detachment into the pagoda, where they formed with their backs to the gate, opposite to the French troops, who immediately flung down their arms in a heap, and surrendered prisoners. The whole consisted of 35 commission officers, 725 battalion men bearing arms, besides 60 sick and wounded in the hospital, and 2000 Sepoys : their artillery were four 13 inch mortars, 8 cohorns, 2 petards, 31 pieces of cannon, of which 11 were for battering, mostly 18 pounders, and the rest field pieces : they had likewise a great quantity of ammunition, stores and carriages of all sorts in very good condition. The pagoda of Seringham was soon after delivered up, and the horse and foot who had taken refuge in it suffered to pass away without molestation ; but the 1000 Rajpoots refused to quit the temple, and threatened their victors to cut them to pieces if they offered to enter within the third wall : the English, in admiration of their enthusiasm, promised to give them no occasion of offence.

Thus was this formidable army, whose numbers two months before were nearly equal to the confederates, reduced, without a battle, more effectually than it probably could have been by what is generally esteemed a total defeat in the field. The soldier who regards his profession as a science, will discover examples worthy of his meditation, both in the absurdity of the enemy's choice of their situation, and in the advantages which were taken of it. It is indeed difficult to determine whether the English conducted themselves with more ability and spirit, or the French with more irresolution and ignorance, after major Lawrence and captain Clive arrived at Tritchinopoly.

Still the fate of Chunda-saheb remained to be decided before the success of this day could be deemed complete. The anxiety which Monack-jee carried away from the conference in major Lawrence's tent was encreased every hour by the messages and proposals he received. The Mysorean promised money, the Nabob threatened resentment, and Morari-row, more plainly, that he would pay him a visit at the head of 6000 horse. Terrified at the commotions which would inevitably follow, if he, gave the preference to any one of the competitors he saw no method of finishing the contest but by putting an end to the life of his

§ prisoner ;

prisoner ; however, as the major had expressed a desire that the English might have him in their possession, he thought it necessary to know whether they seriously expected this deference, and accordingly, on the same morning that the pagoda surrendered, went to the major ; with whom he had a conference which convinced him that the English were his friends, and that they were resolved not to interfere any farther in the dispute. He therefore immediately on his return to Chuckly-pollam put his design into execution, by ordering the head of Chunda-saheb to be struck off. 1752

The executioner of this deed was a Pitan, one of Monack-jee's retinue, reserved for such purposes. He found the unfortunate victim an aged man, stretched on the ground, from whence the infirmities of sickness rendered him unable to rear himself. The aspect and abrupt intrusion of the assassin instantly suggested to Chunda-saheb the errand on which he was sent. He waved his hand, and desired to speak to Monack-jee before he died, saying, that he had something of great importance to communicate to him : but the man of blood giving no heed to his words, proceeded to his work, and after stabbing him to the heart, severed his head from his body.

The head was immediately sent into Tritchinopoly to the Nabob, who now for the first time saw the face of his rival. After he had gratified his courtiers with a sight of it, they tied it to the neck of a camel, and in this manner it was carried five times round the walls of the city, attended by a hundred thousand spectators, insulting it with all the obscene and indecent invectives peculiar to the manners of Indostan. It was afterwards carefully packed up in a box, and delivered to an escort, who gave out that they were to carry it to be viewed by the Great Mogul at Delhi ; a practice generally observed to heighten the reputation of the successful cause : but there is no reason to believe that it was ever carried out of the Carnatic.

Such was the unfortunate and ignominious end of this man. The many examples of a similar fate, which are perpetually produced by the contests of ambition in this unsettled empire, have established a proverb, that fortune is a throne ; and therefore he who falls in such contests is only reckoned unfortunate, without having the odium of

1752 rebellion or treachery charged on his memory, unless he opposes the sovereign of sovereigns, the Great Mogul ; all the rest is reckoned the common course of politics : for there is scarcely throughout the empire a Nabob, who has not an open or latent competitor. It therefore only remains to speak of the private character of Chunda-saheb, in which he is generally acknowledged to have been a brave, benevolent, humane and generous man, as princes go in Indostan. His military abilities were much greater than are commonly found in the generals of India, insomuch that if he had an absolute command over the French troops, it is believed he would not have committed the mistakes which brought on his catastrophe, and the total reduction of his army.

But signal as these successes were, they were so far from being the means of restoring tranquillity to the Carnatic, that in the very principles which produced them were intermixed the seeds of another more dangerous and obstinate war : and this the Nabob had the anguish to know, whilst he was giving the demonstrations of joy expected from him on successes which appeared so decisive.

END *of the* THIRD BOOK.

BOOK

BOOK IV.

FOUR hundred of the French prisoners were sent under an escort to Fort St. David; and the rest, together with the artillery and stores taken at Jumbakistna, were carried into Tritchinopoly: after these and some other necessary dispositions were made, major Lawrence represented to the Nabob the necessity of his marching without delay at the head of the confederate army into the Carnatic, where it was not to be doubted that the reputation of their late successes would contribute greatly to reduce such fortresses as were in the interest of Chunda-saheb, and facilitate the establishment of his government over the province, from which he had hitherto received neither revenues nor assistance. The Nabob acquiesced in this advice, but continued for several days to shew an unaccountable backwardness, as often as he was pressed to put it into execution. The inconsistency of this conduct perplexed all but the very few who were acquainted with the cause; and the English had no conception of the difficulties which with-held him, when, to their very great astonishment, the Mysorean explained the mystery, by refusing to march until the city of Tritchinopoly with all its dependencies was delivered up to him; for such was the price he had stipulated with the Nabob for his assistance. 1752

They had both, for every reason, agreed to keep this important article a profound secret; but the Mysorean had either not been able to conceal it from the sagacity of his subsidiary the Morattoe, or perhaps had made the agreement by his advice. It is certain that the Morattoe had all along projected to turn it to his own advantage at a proper occasion: excepting these principals, and their immediate secretaries, not a man in the province had any idea of it. Great therefore was the general surprize and anxiety when it was made public.

1752 The Nabob finding dissimulation no longer of any service, confessed the truth when major Lawrence demanded an explanation of it; protesting that his extreme distress alone had extorted a promise from him, which the Mysorean himself might very well know was totally out of his power to perform. Tritchinopoly, he said, was the Great Mogul's, and himself only a viceroy, appointed to govern it during the pleasure of that great prince: that the resigning of this important place to the government of an Indian king, would involve both himself and the English in continual wars with the whole Mogul empire. In short, firmly resolved at all events not to part with the place, he proposed to amuse the regent with a further promise of delivering it up within two months; in which time he hoped, by collecting the large arrears due from the Arcot province, to repay the expences which the Mysoreans had incurred by assisting him. As a palliative for the present, he meant to give up the fort of Madura with its dependencies, which include a very large district. These terms he thought a full and ample recompence for all that the regent had done for him, more especially as the reduction of Chunda-saheb's power had been an essential advantage to the interests of the Mysoreans as well as to his own. Major Lawrence, whose power was confined to the operations of the field, waited for instructions from the presidency, who received at the same time applications from both parties, setting forth, as usual, the subject in a very different manner. They prudently determined not to interfere in the dispute, unless violence should be used against the Nabob; and professing great friendship to the Mysorean, they strenuously recommended to both parties an amicable adjustment of their differences.

But these differences continued with great warmth; and in the long debate on this subject, Morari-row conducted himself with so much seeming impartiality, that he was chosen, with equal confidence on both sides, to be the mediator between them; and the time being fixed for the conference, he came one evening into the city in great state, accompanied by two commissaries deputed by the regent: they proceeded to the Nabob's palace, where captain Dalton, as commander of the English garrison, was present.

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The usual ceremonies being over, the Morattoe with great delibera- 1752
tion and propriety enumerated the many obligations which the Nabob owed to the regent. He painted in lively colours the distressful state of his affairs, when the regent generously undertook his cause; at which time, although nominal lord of a country extending from the river Pennar to Cape Comerin, he really possessed no more of this great dominion than the ground inclosed by the walls of Tritchinopoly, where he was closely besieged by a much superior and implacable enemy. He appealed to the Nabob for the truth of what he asserted, and then demanded in form the delivery of the city and territory of Tritchinopoly, in consequence of the solemn agreement he had made with the Mysorean, which he produced signed and sealed.

The Nabob, who expected this harrangue, acknowledged the favours he had received, and said, that he was resolved to fulfil his engagements: but that being at this time in possession of no other considerable fortified town, it was impossible to remove his family, which was very large, until he had, by reducing the Arcot province got a place proper for their reception: he therefore demanded a respite of two months, at the expiration of which he promised to send orders to his brother-in-law to deliver up the city. The Morattoe highly commended this resolution; and after some other vague discourse, he signified an inclination to speak to him in private, and desired the commissaries to withdraw. As soon as they and the rest of the audience, excepting captain Dalton, were retired, changing his countenance from the solemnity of a negociator to the smile of a courtier, he told the Nabob, that he believed him endowed with too much sense to mind what he had said before those two stupid fellows, meaning the commissaries: you must likewise, said he, think that I have too much discernment to believe you have any intention of fulfilling the promise you have now made. How could you answer to the Great Mogul the giving up so considerable a part of his dominion to such insignificant people: it would be the highest absurdity to think of it. These you may be assured are my real sentiments, whatever my private interest may induce me to say to the contrary in public. The Nabob was not a little delighted to find him in this disposition;

1752 disposition; for it was his resentment more than the regent's that he dreaded; and immediately made him a present of a draught on his treasury for 50,000 rupees, promising much more if he would reconcile matters, and divert the regent from insisting on the letter of the treaty. This the other assured him he would do, though nothing was farther from his intentions. He was in reality the most improper person that could have been chosen to adjust the difference. His views were, first by ingratiating himself with the Nabob, to persuade him to admit a large body of Morattoes into the city as the best means of deceiving the regent into a belief that he really intended to give it up according to his promise; and these military umpires would have been instructed to seize on any opportunity that might offer of seducing or overpowering the rest of the garrison; and if this iniquitous scheme succeeded, he intended to keep possession of the city, which he had formerly governed, for himself. If there should be no opening for this plan, he determined to protract the dispute as long as possible by negociations, during which he was sure of being kept in pay by the Mysorean, and did not doubt of having the address to get considerable presents from the Nabob. When this double dealing should be exhausted, he purposed to make the Mysorean declare war, knowing that he had too great an opinion of the Morattoes to carry it on without continuing them in his service.

The apprehensions of an immediate rupture obliged the English troops, who had proceeded on the 16th of June as far as Utatoor, to return on the 18th to Tritchinopoly; for the Mysorean had even threatened to attack the Nabob, if he offered to march out of the city in order to join his European allies, as he had promised. Their appearance, more than their remonstrances, produced an accommodation for the present. The Nabob made over to the regent the revenues of the island of Seringham, and of several other districts, impowering him to collect them himself; promised again to deliver up Tritchinopoly at the end of two months; and in the mean time agreed to receive 700 men, provided they were not Morattoes, into the city. On these conditions the Mysorean agreed to assist him with all his force to reduce the Arcot province. Neither side gave any credit to the other, but both expected advantages by gaining

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time. The Nabob knew that an immediate declaration of war, would 1752 effectually stop the progress of his arms in the Carnatic, where he hoped to gain some signal advantage, whilst the regent delayed to commence hostilities against him ; and the regent wished for nothing so much as the departure of the Nabob and the English battalion, that he might carry on his schemes to surprize Tritchinopoly, which he knew their presence would render ineffectual. The excuses he made, when pressed to march, sufficiently explained his intentions ; and to frustrate them, 200 Europeans with 1500 Sepoys were placed in garrison in the city, under the command of captain Dalton, who was instructed to take every precaution against a surprize.

The battalion, now reduced to 500 men, together with 2500 Sepoys, began their march on the 28th of June, accompanied by the Nabob at the head of 2000 horse : these, with about the same number of Peons left in Tritchinopoly, were all the force he commanded, for none of the numerous allies, whom he saw acting in his service a few days before, remained with him. The Tanjorines had rendered too great services to be refused the permission of returning home ; and the troops of the Polygars were not obliged to act out of the districts of Tritchinopoly. The Mysoreans and Morattoes remained in their encampment to the west of the city, placing a detachment in Seringham Pagoda, of which the Nabob had permitted them to take possession.

The weakness to which the Nabob's force was reduced by this fatal contest, and the apprehension of still worse consequences from it, destroyed the hopes which the English had entertained a few days before, of carrying his arms in triumph against Velore or Gingee. Their late success, instead of inspiring exultation, served only to imbitter the sense of their incapacity to reap any advantage from it. They marched away more with the sullenness of men defeated, than with the alacrity of troops flushed with victory ; and proceeding without any regular plan for their future operations, they followed the high road until they came to Vol-condah.

Here they halted for some days, whilst the Nabob negociated with the governor, who refused to deliver up his fort, but took the oath of allegiance, and paying 80.000 rupees as a consideration for the arrears that

1752 that were due from him, gave security for the punctual discharge of the revenues of his district in future.

From hence the Nabob detached his brother Abdullwahab Khan with 1000 horse to Arcot, appointing him his lieutenant of the countries to the north of the river Paliar; and the rest of the army marching by Verdachelum, proceeded to Trivadi, where they arrived on the 6th of July, and found a garrison of French Sepoys in the pagoda, who surrendered on the first summons. The troops then encamped in the neighbourhood, and major Lawrence leaving the command to captain Gingen, went for the recovery of his health into Fort St. David. This place was no longer the seat of the presidency, which, by orders from England, had been removed, two months before, to its ancient residence at Madrass.

The death of Chunda-saheb, and the capture of Seringham, struck the inhabitants of Pondicherry with the deepest consternation; for excepting those who received advantages from their employments in the war, few had ever approved of the ambitious views of their governor, and fewer were personally attached to him. The haughtiness and arrogance of his spirit disgusted all who approached him; he exhibited on all occasions the oriental pomp, and marks of distinction, which he assumed as the Great Mogul's viceroy in the countries south of the Kristna: insomuch that he had more than once obliged his own countrymen to submit to the humiliation of paying him homage on their knees. This domineering insolence had created him many enemies, who, with a spirit of malice common to violent prejudices, were not sorry to find their own sense of his romantic schemes justified by the late signal disasters, which they hoped would deter him from prosecuting them any farther. But they did not know the man: difficulties and disappointments, instead of depressing him, only suggested the necessity of exerting himself with more vigour. And indeed his plan of gaining vast acquisitions in the Decan had been laid with so much sagacity, that the successes of his arms to the northward already ballanced the disgrace they had suffered at Seringham.

In the month of February of the preceeding year, Salabat-jing the new Soubah, with the French troops under the command of Bussy, quitted

quitted the country of Cudapah where the unfortunate Murzafa-jing 1752 had been killed. On the 15th of March they came to Canoul, the capital of the Pitan Nabob by whose hand that prince was slain, and it was determined that the city should atone for the treachery and rebellion of its Lord. The place was originally well fortified; but since it had been in the possession of Pitans, these people, as avaricious as they are brave, had suffered the defences both of the town and its citadel to fall to decay; and the river which runs close to the city, had lately carried away 200 yards of the wall; there were 4000 Pitans in the place, who attempted to defend this entrance; but not accustomed to the fire of field pieces, were easily put to flight: they retired into the castle, several parts of which were likewise in ruins; and the French troops, animated by their success, and led by Mr. Kirjean, a nephew of Mr. Dupleix, stormed it, with great vivacity, where the breaches were most practicable; by which time the army of Salabat-jing came up, and assisted with good will in putting all the garrison to the sword; many of the inhabitants were likewise massacred. The wife of the late Nabob and her two sons were made prisoners.

The French doubtless intended, by the unmerciful slaughter which they made at the taking of this city, to spread early the terror of their arms, through the countries in which they were going to establish themselves, where no European force had ever before appeared and in order to raise an opinion of their good faith and justice, equal to the reputation of their prowess, Mr. Bussy, immediately after Canoul was taken, obliged Salabat-jing to settle the fortune of Sadoudin Khan, the infant son of Murzafa-jing, their late ally and Soubah. He received the investiture of the government of Adoni, which had been the patrimony of his father, and as a just reparation for the treachery that caused his death, the territory of the Nabob of Cudapah, who planned the conspiracy, and of Canoul, by whose arm he fell, were added to the sovereignty of the young prince, which by the French accounts produced all together an annual revenue of near a million of pounds sterling. An example of generosity, which, if true, could not fail to raise admiration in a country, where the merits of the father are so seldom of advantage to the distresses of the son.

1752 The army then crossed the Kristna, between which and Gol-condah were posted 25000 Morattoes, employed by Gazy-o-din Khan, the eldest brother of Salabat-jing, and generalissimo of the empire, to oppose their passage towards the city. They were commanded by Balagerow, the principal general of the Sahah Rajah, or king of all the Morattoe nations. A negotiation ensued, and the Morattoes, having hitherto received nothing from Gazy-o-din Khan, who was at Delhi, were easily persuaded, with some ready money, not only to retire, but also to make an alliance with the prince they were sent to oppose.

Nothing more remained to obstruct the passage of the army, which entered Gol-condah in the procession of an eastern triumph on the 2d of April. Salabat-jing was acknowledged Soubah without opposition, and went through the ceremony of sitting on the *Musnud* or throne in public, and of receiving homage not only from his own immediate officers, but also from most of the governors of the neighbouring countries.

The services which the French battalion had rendered were now amply rewarded. A present supposed to be 100,000 pounds sterling was given to the commander in chief, the other officers likewise received gratuities, and that of an ensign, amounted to 50,000 rupees. The monthly pay of a captain, besides the carriage of his baggage furnished at Salabat-jing's expence, was settled at 1000 rupees, of a lieutenant at 500, of an ensign at 300, of a serjeant at 90, and of a common soldier at 60 rupees. The policy of Mr. Dupleix, in taking possession of Masulipatnam, was now manifested by the facility with which the army at Gol-condah was supplied with recruits of men, stores, and ammunition from that port.

In the mean time, Gazy-o-din Khan had obtained from the ministry at Delhi a commission for the Soubahship of the Decan, and the rumour of an army marching by his orders towards Brampore, determined Salabat-jing to proceed immediately to Aurengabad. He left Gol-condah in the beginning of May, and during the route, intelligence was received that several principal men in the city had declared against him, and Shanavaze-Khan, who had been the prime minister of Nazir-jing, and had ever since his reconciliation with the French

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after the death of that prince, accompanied the camp, now found 1752
means to escape out of it, and went directly to Aurengabad, where he contributed not a little to inflame the minds of the people against Salabat-jing, describing him as a weak and infatuated prince, who had dishonoured the Mogul government, by subjecting himself, and his authority, to the arbitrary will of a handful of infidels, who grasped at nothing less than the sovereignty of half the Mogul empire under pretence of giving assistance to the rightful lords.

These reports were two well founded not to make an impression, and the consequences of them were so much apprehended, that Salabat-jing did not think it safe to appear in sight of the capital, before he had acted the stale but pompous ceremony of receiving from the hands of an ambassador, said to be sent by the Great Mogul, letters patent, appointing him viceroy of all the countries which had been under the jurisdiction of his father Nizam-al-muluck. The man, no doubt as fictitious as the writings with which he was charged, was treated almost with as much reverence as would have been paid to the emperor, whom he pretended to represent. The prince himself, accompanied by the French troops, advanced a mile beyond the camp to meet him; and the delivery of the letters was signified by a general discharge of all the cannon and musketry in the army, after which he sat in state to receive homage from his officers; Mr. Bussy, as the first in rank, giving the example. The army then continued their march to the city, where they arrived on the 18th of June, and found that their appearance, and the reputation of the Mogul's favours, had suppressed whatever commotions might have been intended. A few indeed knew for certain that Gazy-o-din Khan had received the commission assumed by his brother, and was preparing to assert it at the head of an army; but the voices of these were lost amidst the clamours of a populace, impatient to see a Soubah of the Decan, once more making his residence in their city, which had been deprived of this advantage ever since the death of Nizam-al-muluck.

The entry into Aurengabad was more splendid and magnificent, than that which had been made at Gol-condah: and the city merited this preference, being, next to Delhi, the most populous and wealthy in

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1752 the Mogul's dominions : its inhabitants, when the Soubah is there, are computed at a million and a half of souls. The French had a convenient quarter assigned them, to which Mr. Bussy strictly obliged the troops to confine themselves, lest the disparity of manners should create broils and tumults which might end fatally.

* In the month of August, Salabat-jing exhibited another ceremony to amuse the people, receiving a delegate from Delhi, who brought, as was pretended, the Serpaw or vest, with the sword, and other symbols of sovereignty, which the Great Mogul sends to his viceroys, on appointment. But by this time, Balagerow appeared again at the head of 40,000 men, ravaging the neighbouring countries. Battles and negociations succeeded one another alternately during the rest of the year, and until the end of May in the next, without producing either a decisive victory, or a definitive treaty. The Morattoes would in more than one action have been successful had not the French battalion, and their field pieces, repulsed their onsets. These services gave Mr. Bussy supreme influence in the councils of his ally, which, on hearing of the decline of Chunda-saheb's affairs at Tritchinopoly, he employed to obtain a commission, appointing Mr. Dupleix Nabob of the Carnatic, notwithstanding that Chunda-saheb was still alive ; this, with several other pompous patents, was sent to Pondicherry, and Salabat-jing promised they should soon be followed by an ambassador from the Great Mogul.

Mr. Dupleix published these mandates and marks of favour to awe the Carnatic, astonished and rendered wavering by the catastrophe of Chunda-saheb : nor were these his only resources. He had been early apprized of the discontent of the Mysoreans at Tritchinopoly, and was already deeply engaged in fomenting their defection. The annual ships from France arriving at the time Mr. Law surrendered, brought a large reinforcement to Pondicherry, which he increased, by taking the sailors, and sending Lascars on board to navigate the ships to China. Thus armed, and relying on no vain expectations, the disasters at Seringham were so far from inducing him to make any proposals of accommodation either to the English or the Nabob, that he immediately discovered his intentions of continuing the war, by

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* See the alteration after the end of the Vth Book. page 435.

proclaiming Raja-saheb, the son of Chunda-saheb, Nabob of the province, in virtue of the pretended authority invested in himself, and by ordering a body of 500 men to take the field. 1752

Mahomed-ally felt more severely every day the bad consequences of his promise to the Mysorean, for none but the most insignificant chiefs in the province offered voluntarily to acknowledge him ; the rest waited to be attacked before they made their submission ; and he being little skilled in military matters, but deeply sensible of the decline of his fortune, conceived a notion, that the English troops were capable of reducing the fortress of Gingee ; in this persuasion he requested of the presidency in the most pressing terms to render him this service, and they with too much complaisance determined to give him the satisfaction of seeing the experiment tried, notwithstanding that major Lawrence went to Madrass on purpose to represent the improbability of succeeding in the attempt.

Accordingly on the 23d of July, major Kineer, an officer lately arrived from Europe, marched with 200 Europeans, 1500 Sepoys, and 600 of the Nabob's cavalry, and the next day summoned Villaparum, a fort twelve miles to the north of Trivadi : it surrendered without making any resistance. Proceeding on their march, they found difficulties increase ; for the country 10 miles round Gingee is inclosed by a circular chain of mountains, and the roads leading through them are strong passes, of which it is necessary that an army attacking the place should be in possession, in order to keep the communication open. Major Kineer's force being much too small to afford proper detachments for this service, he marched on with the whole to Gingee, where he arrived the 26th. The garrison was summoned to surrender, and the officer answered with civility, that he kept the place for the king of France, and was determined to defend it. The troops were in no condition to attack it ; for by some unaccountable presumption, they had neglected, to wait for two pieces of battering cannon, which were coming from Fort St. David. Mr. Dupleix no sooner heard that the English had passed the mountains, than he detached 300 Europeans and 500 Sepoys, with seven field pieces who took possession of Vicravandi, a town situated in the high road, and

not

1752 not far distant from the pass through which the English had marched; upon which major Kineer, who upon a view of Gingee despaired of reducing it even with battering cannon, immediately repassed the mountains, and being reinforced by the rest of the Nabob's cavalry, and some other troops from Trivadi, marched on the 26th of July, with 300 Europeans, 500 Sepoys, a company of Caffrees, and 2000 horse, to give the enemy battle.

They were posted in a strong situation. The greatest part of the town was encircled by a rivulet, which serving as a ditch, was defended by a parapet, formed of the ruins of old houses, and interrupted at proper intervals to give play to the cannon. The outward bank was in many parts as high as the parapet, and that part of the village which the rivulet did not bound might be easily entered; but the English, neglecting to reconnoitre before they began the attack, lost the advantages which they might have taken of these circumstances.

They marched directly to the enemy, who, in order to bring on the engagement in that part where they were strongest, appeared at first drawn up on the outward bank of the rivulet, but as soon as the field pieces began to fire, recrossed it with precipitation, and the appearance of fear. The English, elated with the imagination of their panic, advanced to the bank, and leaving their field pieces behind, began the attack with the fire of their musketry only. The enemy answering it, both from musketry and field pieces, and under shelter, suffered little loss, and did much execution. The company of English Caffres were first flung into disorder by carrying off their wounded as they dropped, and soon after took flight; they were followed by the Sepoys; and major Kineer in this instant receiving a wound which disabled him, the Europeans began to waver likewise. The enemy perceiving the confusion, detached 100 of their best men, amongst which were 50 volunteers, who, crossing the rivulet briskly, advanced to the bank. The vivacity of this unexpected motion increased the panic, and only 14 grenadiers, with two ensigns, stood by the colours: these indeed defended them bravely, until they were rejoined by some of the fugitives, with whom they retreated in order; and the French, satisfied with their success, returned to the village, having, with very little

little loss to themselves, killed and wounded 40 of the English battalion, which suffered in this action more disgrace than in any other that had happened during the war: Major Kineer was so affected by it, that although he recovered of his wound, his vexation brought on an illness, of which he some time after died. 1752

The troops retreated to Trivadi, and the enemy, quitting Vicravandi, retook the fort of Villaparum, which they demolished. Mr. Dupleix, animated by these successes, slight as they were, reinforced them with all the men he could send into the field; the whole, consisting of 450 Europeans, 1500 Sepoys, and 500 Moorish horse, marched and encamped to the north of Fort St. David, close to the bounds; upon which the English and the Nabob's troops quitted Trivadi, and encamped at Chimundelum, a redoubt in the bound hedge, three miles to the west of St. David; here they remained for some days inactive, waiting for more troops from Madrass, where the ships from England had brought a reinforcement, consisting principally of two companies of Swiss, each of 100 men, commanded by officers of that nation.

To avoid the risque and delay of a march by land, one of these companies was immediately embarked in Massoolas, the common and slightest boats of the country, and ordered to proceed to Fort St. David by sea; for it was not imagined that the French would venture to violate the English colours on this element; but the boats no sooner came in sight of Pondicherry than a ship in the road weighed anchor and seizing every one of the boats, carried the troops into the town; where Mr. Dupleix kept them prisoners, and insisted that the capture was as justifiable as that which had been made of his own troops at Seringham.

As soon as the news of this loss reached Madrass, Major Lawrence embarked with the other company of Swiss, on board of one of the company's ships, and arrived the 16th of August at Fort St. David. The next day he took the command of the army, which consisted of 400 Europeans, 1700 Sepoys, and 4000 of the Nabob's troops, cavalry, and Peons, with eight field pieces. The enemy hearing of his arrival decamped in the night, and retreated to Bahoor, and finding themselves

1752 selves followed, the next day went nearer to Pondicherry, and encamped between the bound hedge and Villanore, from whence the commanding officer sent a letter protesting against the English, for not respecting the territory of the French company. Major Lawrence being instructed by the presidency not to enter their antient limits, the bound hedge, unless they should set the example, contented himself with attacking their advanced post at Villanore, which they immediately abandoned, and their whole army retreated under the walls of the town

They shewed so little inclination to quit this situation, that major Lawrence, imagining nothing would intice them out of it but a persuasion that the English were become as unwilling as themselves to venture a general engagement, retreated precipitately to Bahoor. The stratagem took effect, not with the commanding officer Mr. Kirjean, but with his uncle Mr. Dupleix, who ordered him to follow the English, and take advantage of their supposed fears. The remonstrances of his nephew only produced a more peremptory order, in obedience to which Mr. Kirjean marched, and encamped within two miles of Bahoor, where major Lawrence immediately made the necessary dispositions for attacking him.

The troops began to march at three the next morning: the Sepoys formed the first line, the battalion the second, and the artillery were divided on the flanks; the Nabob's cavalry were stationed to the right on the other side of a high bank, which ran from the English to the enemy's camp: the attack began a little before the dawn of day. The Sepoys were challenged by the advanced posts, and not answering, received their fire, which they returned, and still marching on came to an engagement with the enemy's Sepoys, which lasted till day-light, when the French battalion were discovered drawn up; their right defended by the bank, and their left by a large pond. The English battalion halted to form their front equal to that of the enemy, who, during this operation, kept up a brisk fire from eight pieces of connon, and continued it until the small arms began. The action now became warm, the English firing as they advanced, and the French standing their ground until the bayonets met. This

This crisis of modern war is generally decided in an instant, and very few examples of it occur. The company of English grenadiers, with two platoons, broke the enemy's center, on which their whole line immediately gave way, and no quarter being expected in such a conflict, they threw down their arms as incumbrances to their flight. This was the moment for the Nabob's cavalry to charge, as they had been instructed; but instead of setting out in pursuit of the fugitives, they galloped into the camp, and employed themselves in plunder; however the Sepoys picked up many of them. Mr. Kirjean, with 13 officers and 100 private men, were made prisoners, and a greater number were killed; all the enemy's artillery, ammunition, and stores were taken. Of the English battalion, 4 officers and 78 private men were killed and wounded. 1752

This victory broke the enemy's force so effectually, that Mr. Dupleix was obliged to wait the arrival of farther reinforcements before he attempted any thing more in the field; nor was this the only advantage obtained by it, for it checked the resolution which the Mysorean had just taken of declaring openly for the French.

The English battalion no sooner quitted Tritchinopoly, than the regent set about accomplishing his scheme of surprizing the city, and by disbursing large sums of money, endeavoured to gain 500 of the Nabob's best Peons, armed with firelocks. The Jemautdars, or captains of these troops, received his bribes, and promised to join the 700 Mysoreans in the garrison whenever they should rise. Captain Dalton receiving some hints of the conspiracy, kept ward in the city with as much vigilance as if he had been in an enemy's country, and caused the artillery on the ramparts to be pointed every evening inwards on the quarters of the Mysoreans, and of the suspected Peons.

These precautions naturally alarmed those who had been treating with the regent; but still none of them made any discovery; whereupon, at a general review of arms ordered for this purpose, he directed their flints to be taken out of their firelocks, under pretence of supplying them with some of a better sort. This convincing them that their practices were discovered, the Jemautdars came and confessed all that had passed, imploring forgiveness: each brought the sum he had received, and that of the principal man was 16,000

 rupees,

1752 rupees. They protested that they had no view in taking the money, but to keep their troops from starving, who had scarcely received any pay from the Nabob for nine months; and as a proof that they had no intention of assisting the Mysorean in his designs, they said, that not one of them had removed his wife and family out of the city. Captain Dalton made them few reproaches, but ordered them to march with their troops the next morning to join the Nabob's army at Trivadi. The regent finding this scheme frustrated, hired two fellows to shoot captain Dalton as he walked on the ramparts, who luckily receiving intelligence of their design a few hours before they intended to put it in execution, sent a detachment, which took them prisoners in the house where they had concealed themselves with their arms. One was sullen, and said little, but the other confessed the whole, and declared, that three more were engaged in the plot, who had undertaken to watch the gate of the palace, and shoot Kiroodin Khan, the Nabob's brother-in-law, when he should come out on the tumult which the death of the English commander would naturally occasion; but these, on seeing the soldiers mrach to the house, had made their escape. The regent, when reproached for this treachery, denied that he had any knowledge of it. He employed, however, Morari-row to solicit the pardon of the assassins; and the friendship of the Morattoe being at this time thought very valuable, Kiroodin Khan granted his request, but did not reprieve the men before they had gone through the ceremony of being fastened to the muzzles of two field pieces in sight of the whole garrison drawn up under arms. Five days after two other Mysoreans came to another Jemautdar, who commanded 180 Sepoys at one of the gates of the city, and attempted to seduce him; but this officer, an old and faithful servant of the company, secured the fellows, and carried them to captain Dalton. The articles signed by the regent were found on them, which leaving no room for equivocation, they confessed the act, and were the next morning blown from the muzzles of two field pieces. This execution struck such a terror, that the regent could not get any more of his own people to undertake such commissions; and having remained quiet for some days, he at length pitched upon one Clement Poverio, a Neapolitan, who

who commanded a company of Topasses in the Nabob's service, and 1752
had often the guard over the French prisoners in the city. This man, trading a good deal, went frequently into the camp of the Mysoreans, which gave the regent an opportunity of making application to him in person. He assured Poverio that he had, besides the Mysoreans in garrison, a strong party in the city, and offered great rewards if he would join them on the first commotion. The Neapolitan gave him cause to believe he was to be wrought upon, but said he must first sound the disposition of his officers ; and on his return he made a faithful report to captain Dalton of what had passed. He was ordered to return to the camp the next morning with instructions how to proceed, and conducted himself so dexterously, that a few conferences intirely gained him the confidence of the regent. Having settled the plan of operations, he brought to captain Dalton the agreement signed by the regent and himself, sealed with the great seal of Mysore : it was specified, that captain Poverio should receive 20,000 rupees for himself, and 3,000 more to buy firelocks, in order to arm the French prisoners, who were to be let out the first time his company took the guard over them ; he was at the same time to seize on the western gate of the city, near which the Mysoreans were encamped, and to hoist a red flag, on which signal the whole army were to move, and enter the town.

On the day fixed for the execution of this enterprize, all the cannon that could be brought to bear on the Mysore camp were well manned, and above 700 musketeers, Europeans and Sepoys, were concealed in the traverses and works near the western gateway, with a great number of hand grenades ; the rest of the garrison was under arms, and the Mysoreans would certainly have suffered severely ; but the fears of the Nabob's brother-in-law put a stop to the enterprize. He was apprehensive that the attempt might succeed, and to avoid the risque, sent a messenger to upbraid the regent, and to acquaint him that the garrison were prepared to receive him.

The regent thinking himself no longer safe under the cannon of the city, decamped, and fixed his head quarters three miles to the westward, at the Pagodas of Wariore, which were garrisoned by

1752 English Sepoys ; but finding that captain Dalton had reinforced this post, he moved again, and encamped near Seringham.

The mutual distrust increased daily, although the outward appearance of friendship subsisted ; for the regent sent every day one of his principal officers to enquire after captain Dalton's health, in order to have an opportunity of discovering what he was doing. When the two months stipulated for the delivery of the city were expired, he sent four of his principal officers in form to demand the surrender of it ; but Kiroodin Khan, a man haughty and insolent, when no danger was near, flew out into a passion, and reproaching the commissaries with the treacherous and clandestine practices of their prince, produced the agreement with captain Poverio, signed and sealed, and then told them plainly, that they had no city to expect, but should be paid the money which the regent had disbursed, as soon as the Nabob's finances were in a better condition.

The regent pretended to be much offended with this answer ; however, after some consideration, he sent his minister to lay the accounts before the Nabob, declaring that he was willing to relinquish his claim to Tritchinopoly, provided the money was immediately paid. This appearance of moderation was only intended to lessen the Nabob's character with the publick, and to justify the measures he was determined to take himself ; for he was too well acquainted with his circumstances, to imagine him able to pay so large a sum, which, by the accounts he produced, amounted to 8,500,000 rupees.

There now remained little hopes of reconciling the difference, which Mr. Dupleix had from the beginning diligently inflamed : knowing that it was the interest of the Morattoes to protract a war, he addressed himself particularly to Morari-row, who continually received presents and letters from him, as also from his wife. In these letters the English were represented as a plodding mercantile people, unacquainted with the art of war, and not fit to appear in the field, opposed to a nation of so martial a genius as the French ; and the success at Seringham was totally ascribed to the valour and activity of the Morattoe cavalry.

Morari-

Morari-row having settled his plan, easily persuaded the regent to acquiesce in it, and embassadors were sent to Pondicherry, where a treaty was soon concluded, and war resolved; Mr. Dupleix promising to take Tritchinopoly, and give it to the Mysoreans. In consequence of this alliance, Innis Khan, with 3000 Morattoes, was detached from Seringham in the middle of August, with instructions to join the French, but first to go to the Nabob's camp, and endeavour to get some money from him; for this object never failed to be interwoven in all Morari-row's schemes. The detachment taking time to plunder the province as they marched along, were at some distance from the coast when they received news of the battle at Bahoor: startled at this success, Innis Khan halted, waiting for farther instructions from Tritchinopoly; in consequence of which he joined the Nabob, with great protestations of friendship and seeming joy at the late event, pretending to lament that he had not come up in time to have a share in it; and in order to accomplish his intention of getting money, he did not hesitate to take the oath of fidelity to the Nabob. 1752

Major Lawrence, notwithstanding his late success at Bahoor, did not think it prudent to engage in any farther operations, whilst he remained in uncertainty of the resolution which these Morattoes might take; but as soon as they joined him, he moved from Fort St. David to Trivadi, and prepared to employ the remainder of the season, before the rains began, in reducing the country between Pondicherry and the river Paliar. At the same time the Nabob requested the presidency to send a force to attack Chinglapet and Cobelong, two strong holds, situated to the north of that river, which kept in subjection a considerable tract of country, and from whence detachments frequently plundered the territory belonging to the Nabob and the company.

Madrass was able to furnish no more than 200 European recruits, just arrived from England, and, as usual, the refuse of the vilest employments in London, together with 500 Sepoys newly raised, and as unexperienced as the Europeans. Such a force appeared very unequal to the enterprize of laying siege to strong forts; and it could hardly be expected that any officer, who had acquired reputation, would willingly

1752 lingly risque it by taking the command of them ; but captain Clive whose military life had been a continued option of difficulties, voluntarily offered his service on this occasion, notwithstanding that his health was at this time much impaired by the excess of his former fatigues.

The troops, with four 24 pounders, marched on the 10th of September against Cobelong. This fort, called by the Moors Saudet Bundar, and situated twenty miles south of Madrass, and within musket shot of the sea, was built by An'war-odean Khan, near the ruins of another belonging to the Ostend company. The French got possession of it in the beginning of the year 1750 by a stratagem. A ship anchored in the road, making signals of distress, and the Moors who repaired on board were told, that most of the crew had died of the scurvy, and that the rest would perish likewise, if they were not permitted to come ashore immediately, since they were no longer able to navigate the vessel. The Nabob's officer, in hopes of being well paid, granted their request ; on which thirty Frenchmen of lean and yellow physiognomies, counterfeiting various kinds of infirmities, were admitted, and having arms concealed under their cloaths, overpowered the garrison in the night. The fort had no ditch, but a strong wall flanked by round towers, on which were mounted thirty pieces of cannon, and it was garrisoned by 50 Europeans and 300 Sepoys.

The English troops arrived in the evening at an eminence about two miles to the westward, from whence half of them marched in the night under the command of lieutenant Cooper, to take possession of a garden, situated about 600 yards to the south of the fort. At break of day the garrison detached 30 Europeans and 100 Sepoys, who advancing to the garden unobserved, began to fire through several large crevices in the gate, which was in a ruinous condition, and a shot killed lieutenant Cooper. The troops were so terrified by this alarm, and by the death of their officer, that they fled precipitately out of the garden, and would probably have run back to Madrass, had they not been met by captain Clive advancing with the rest of his force, who obliged them, not without difficulty, and even violence, to rally, and return with him to the garden, which the enemy abandoned on his approach.

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The next day he sent a summons to the French officer, who answered, that the Fort belonged to the king of France, and that if the English committed any hostilities, his nation would deem it a declaration of war : he therefore expected that they should immediately withdraw ; but if they persisted, and attacked the place, he and his garrison were determined to die in the breach. This blustering language proceeded from his reliance on a reinforcement of 700 Sepoys and 40 Europeans, which Mr. Dupleix had detached from Pondicherry to Chinglapet, with orders to the officer commanding there to introduce them at all events into Cobelong. The English the next day began to erect a battery between the garden and the Fort, at the distance of 300 yards from the walls, and at the same time placed a strong guard on a rock about 100 yards to the left of the battery. The enemy brought many of their guns to bear upon the face of the attack, and fired smartly ; whilst it was with the greatest difficulty the English troops could be kept to their posts, both Europeans and Sepoys taking flight on every alarm : an unlucky shot, which struck the rock, and with the splinters it made, killed and wounded fourteen men, frightened the whole so much, that it was some time before they would venture to expose themselves again, and one of the advanced centries was found several hours after concealed in the bottom of a well. 1752

Captain Clive judging that shame would avail more than severity to reclaim them from their cowardice, exposed himself continually to the hottest of the enemy's fire, and his example brought them in two days to do their duty with some firmness. On the third, intelligence was received that the party from Chinglapet were advanced within four miles, on which he immediately marched with half his force to give them battle ; but they, on hearing of his approach, retreated with great precipitation. On the fourth at noon, the battery was finished, and just as the English were preparing to fire, to his great surprize, he received a message from the commanding officer, offering to surrender at discretion, on condition that he might carry away his own effects : these terms were immediately accepted, and the English before the evening received into the place, where it was found that

1752 that all the effects of the commandant consisted of a great number of turkies, and a great quantity of snuff, commodities in which he dealt. Besides the cannon mounted on the walls, there were found 50 other pieces of the largest calibres, which proved to be part of the artillery that the company had lost at Madrass, when taken by Mr. De la Bourdonnais.

The next morning ensign Joseph Smith, walking out at day break, discovered a large body of troops crossing a small river that runs about half a mile to the west of the Fort, and concluding that they were the reinforcement coming again from Chinglapet, immediately informed captain Clive, who instantly hastened from the fort to join the troops, which ensign Smith had already posted in ambuscade amongst the rocks and underwood, which commanded the high road. Ensign Smith was not deceived in his conjecture; for the commanding officer at Chinglapet having received the day before a letter from the officer at Cobelong, advising him that the place could not hold out 24 hours unless relieved, determined to make an effort more vigorous than the former, and being ignorant of the surrender, intended to surprize the English camp early in the morning. The Nabob's colours were hoisted in the fort, and these being white, skirted with green, were at a distance mistaken by the enemy for their own flag; which confirmed their notion that the place still held out; and they continued to advance with great security, until the whole party were within the reach of the troops in ambuscade, who then gave their fire from all sides with great vivacity. It fell heavy, and in a few minutes struck down 100 men; the rest were so terrified that not more than half retained even presence of mind to provide for their safety by flight: the commanding officer, 25 Europeans, and 250 Sepoys, with two pieces of cannon, were taken: those who fled, flinging away their arms, hurried to Chinglapet, where they communicated no small consternation, of which captain Clive determined to take advantage by marching with the utmost expedition against the place.

It is situated 30 miles west of Cobelong, 40 south west of Madrass, and within half a mile of the northern bank of the river Paliar. The

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French took possession of it in the beginning of the preceding year, when their troops marched out of Pondicherry with Chunda-saheb to reduce the Arcot province. It was, and not without reason, esteemed by the natives a very strong hold. Its outline, exclusive of some irregular projections at the gateways, is nearly a parallelogram, extending 400 yards, from north to south, and 320 from east to west. The eastern, and half the northern side is covered by a continued swamp of rice fields, and the other half of the north, together with the whole of the west side, is defended by a large lake. Inaccessible in these parts, it would have been impregnable, if the south side had been equally secure; but here the ground is high, and gives advantages to an enemy. The Indian engineer, whoever he was, that erected the fort, seems to have exceeded the common reach of his countrymen in the knowledge of his art, not only by the choice of the spot, but also by proportioning the strength of the defences to the advantages and disadvantages of the situation: for the fortifications to the south are much the strongest, those opposite to the rice fields something weaker, and the part that is skirted by the lake is defended only by a slender wall; a deep ditch 60 feet wide, and faced with stone, a fausse-braye, and a stone wall 18 feet high, with round towers on and between the angles, form the defences to the land: nor are these all; for parallel to the south, east, and north sides of these outward works, are others of the same kind repeated within them, and these joining to the slender wall which runs to the west along the lake, form a second enclosure or fortification. The garrison consisted of 40 Europeans and 500 Sepoys, and 15 pieces of cannon were mounted in the place. 1752

A battery, consisting of four twenty-four pounders, was raised to the south about 500 yards from the wall, which resisting at this distance longer than was expected, the guns were removed and mounted within 200 yards, and from hence in four days they made a breach through both the outward and inward wall; but still it remained to drain and fill up the ditches, and even after this a much greater number than the besiegers might have been easily repulsed. But the officer, on seeing the English preparing to make approaches to the outward

 ditch,

1752 ditch, imagined that he had sufficiently asserted the honour of his nation, and hung out the flag to capitulate, offering to give up the fort if the garrison were permitted to march away with the honours of war. Captain Clive, thinking that the risque of storming a place so capable of making an obstinate resistance, was not to be put in competition with the ideal honour of reducing the garrison to severer terms, immediately complied with the enemy's proposals, who on the 31st of October evacuated the fort, and marched away to Pondicherry.

A garrison of Europeans and Sepoys, under the command of an English officer, was placed in Chinglapett; and some time after, at the Nabob's request, the fortifications of Cobelong were blown up. The capture of these two places completed the reduction of all the country that remained unsubdued to the north of the river Paliar, between Sadrass and Arcot.

The health of Captain Clive declining every day after this expedition, induced him not only to quit the field, but also to take the resolution of returning to his native country. He left Madrass in the beginning of the next year, universally acknowledged as the man whose example first roused his countrymen from that lethargy of their natural character, into which they were plunged before the siege of Arcot; and who, by a train of uninterrupted successes, had contributed more than any other officer, at this time, to raise the reputation of their arms in India.

During these sieges, major Lawrence, accompanied by the Nabob, advanced from Trivadi to Vandiwash. This place, situated 20 miles to the north of Gingee, was under the government of Tuckea-saheb, who had, as well as Chunda-saheb, and Mortiz-ally, married one of the sisters of the Nabob, Subder-ally Khan: the widow of this unfortunate prince, together with his posthumous and only surviving son, called Ally Doast Khan, resided with Tuckea-saheb in the fort. It was imagined that a place capable of sending forth such pretenders to disturb the title of Mahomed-ally, would have been attacked with the utmost vigour; but the Nabob was in such distress for money, that he preferred to listen to the offers of Tuckea-saheb to ransom

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his town and fort from hostilities. Whilst an officer deputed for this 1752 purpose was settling the terms, a cannon shot from the fort was by some accident fired into the camp. The Sepoys, vexed at the negotiation, which disappointed their expectations of plunder, seized on this opportunity to break it off, and under pretence of resenting the insult, rushed into the Pettah, and broke open the houses; the poor surprized inhabitants were incapable of making resistance; but it being apprehended that the garrison might sally from the fort, a party of Europeans were sent to support the Sepoys. Tuckea-saheb, ignorant of the cause of this sudden act of violence, imputed it to treachery, and ordered his garrison to fire at the troops they saw in the Pettah. This brought on farther hostilities; the English bombarding the fort with two mortars, and the garrison keeping up a constant fire from their musketry and cannon until morning; when a parly ensued, which explaining matters, the troops were recalled out of the Pettah, and the contribution was settled at 300,000 rupees, which were paid the same day.

The Morattoes during this expedition were continually roaming for plunder, which they took indifferently, as well in the countries acknowledging the Nabob as in the districts of disaffected chiefs; at the same time that they were doing this mischief, they expected to be paid, only because they had it in their power to do more by openly joining his enemies.

The army returned from Vandiwash to Trivadi, where they prepared to canton themselves during the rainy monsoon, which began on the 31st of October at night, with the most violent hurricane that had been remembered on the coast; the rain that fell continually for several days after laid the whole country under water, and spread such a sickness amongst the troops, as obliged them, on the 15th of November, to retire to Fort St. David; which place affording quarters only for the English, most of the Nabob's men, unaccustomed to remain in the field in this inclement season, left him, and went to their homes.

By this time the regent at Seringham, perceiving that the Nabob and the English had made so little advantage of their success at Bahoor, recovered from the consternation he had been struck with by

1752 that event; and he no sooner heard that they had returned into winter quarters, than he sent away Morari-row, with all his Morattoes excepting 500, to Pondicherry; and Innis Khan, with those under his command, quitted the Nabob at Trivadi in the beginning of November, but not without having got some of the money received at Vandiwash. Mr. Dupleix promised to send some Europeans to Seringham, and the regent hoping to divert the garrison of Tritchinopoly from making any attempt against him before they arrived, pretended that he had no design to make war with the Nabob, and that Morari-row had left him in consequence of a dispute which had arisen on settling their accounts; but notwithstanding this declaration his patroles of horse stopped and carried to his camp all the provisions that were coming to the city: the effects of this hostility were soon felt; and the presidency of Madrass, who, in consideration of his pretensions to Tritchinopoly, had hitherto declined to take revenge of his treacherous attempts to get possession of it, now thought it time to treat him as a declared enemy.

In consequence of this resolution, captain Dalton on the 23d of December marched out of the city at ten o'clock at night, with the greatest part of the Europeans and Sepoys, to beat up his camp, which extended under the northern wall of Seringham; but the regent himself with a considerable guard remained within the pagoda. An artillery officer with three pieces of cannon was previously posted on the southern bank of the Caveri, opposite the pagoda, with orders to create what alarm he could by throwing shot into the place, as soon as he should hear the fire of the musketry in the camp: the troops passed the Caveri at Chuckly-pollam, and then crossing the island marched along the bank of the Coleroon, until they came within a quarter of a mile of the enemy's camp, when they halted in order to refresh themselves, and to form for the attack: but on the review it was found that no less than 500 of the Sepoys were absent, having, as they afterwards affirmed, inadvertently missed the line of march in the dark; however the rest not seeming to be discouraged, it was determined to proceed: they were divided into two bodies, the first marched only four in front, being designed to penetrate through the camp firing two to the right, and two to the left; whilst

whilst the other, drawn up in a more compact manner, were ordered to halt as soon as they came amongst the tents, and there remain as a support to the first party; who moving on, found the enemy's advanced guard fast asleep, and stabbing them with their bayonets, entered the camp without opposition, and to the right and left began a brisk fire from front to rear. The alarm was instantly spread, and produced such consternation, that nothing was heard but the shrieks of men wounded, and the outcries of others warning their friends to fly from the danger. The enemy, according to their senseless custom, raised a number of blue lights in the air, in order to discover the motions of the column, but these lights served much better to direct the fire against themselves; in the mean time those within the pagoda manned the walls, but refrained from firing for fear of killing their own people in the camp, who in less than an hour were totally dispersed; and if the English had brought with them a petard, they would probably have forced into the pagoda, and have finished the war by securing the person of the regent. Every thing being now quiet, the Sepoys were permitted to take as many horses as they could conveniently lead away; and marching foremost out of the camp, were followed by the Europeans in good order; but by this time the Mysoreans within the pagoda, finding by the extinction of the lights, that none of their own army remained within reach, began to fire smartly from the walls, and killed and wounded 20 men, of whom seven were Europeans. 1752

The troops reached the city by day break, when they discovered the enemy returning to the island, who immediately struck all their tents, and retired into the pagoda. This sufficiently shewed their panic; but nevertheless it was evident that their continuance in the neighbourhood would prevent the inhabitants from bringing in provisions, of which they began already to feel the want; captain Dalton therefore determined to bombard the pagoda, not doubting, that if he could drive the enemy out of it, their fears would deter them from encamping again within a night's march. With this view he sent half his force the following night across the river, and dislodged them from a great choultry that stands by the water side, directly opposite

1752 opposite to the south-gate of Seringham ; the building was 100 feet square, and 30 high ; a great number of Coolies were immediately set to work, and before morning they inclosed the choultry with a strong entrenchment, and likewise made a parapet with sand bags round the roof, on which two field pieces were mounted. As it was not doubted that the enemy would make an effort to recover a post so capable of molesting them, captain Dalton determined to support it with the rest of his force ; the bed of the Caveri having at this time little or no water, he took post over against the choultry, on the southern bank of the river ; where a low wall served the party as a parapet ; who had with them four field pieces, which might easily flank the choultry, as the river in this part was only 400 yards wide : the enemy remained quiet until noon, when having sufficiently intoxicated themselves with opium, they began to swarm out in great numbers ; but the field pieces kept them for some time at a distance, every shot doing execution. During the cannonade a party of the Nabob's Sepoys crossed the river, and taking possession of a small choultry at a little distance to the right of the other, began to fire from this untenable post ; upon which a body of 300 Morattoe horse galloped up to attack them, but before they arrived the Sepoys took flight ; several of them were cut to pieces, and the rest re-crossing the river, ran into the city ; the Morattoes, encouraged by this success, now galloped up towards the entrenchment of the great choultry, where they were suffered to come so near, that several of them made use of their sabres across the parapet before the troops within gave fire, which then began, and seconded by that of the four pieces of cannon on the other side of the river, killed and wounded a great number of men and horses, and obliged the enemy to retire in confusion : in this instant an officer unadvisedly took the resolution of quitting his post, and passed the river, in order to give captain Dalton some information concerning the artillery : some of the soldiers seeing this, imagined that he went away through fear, and concluding that things were worse than appeared to them, followed his example, and ran out of the entrenchment ; which the rest perceiving, a panic seized the whole, and they left the post with the greatest precipitation,

precipitation, notwithstanding they had the minute before given three huzzas, on the retreat of the Morattoes : a body of 3000 Mysore horse, who were drawn up on the bank, immediately galloped into the bed of the river, and charging the fugitives with fury, cut down the whole party excepting 15 men : flushed with this success, they made a push at captain Dalton's division on the other side. All these motions succeeded one another so rapidly, that he had hardly time to put his men on their guard ; more especially as many of them had caught the panic, from having been spectators of the massacre of their comrades : however some of the bravest hearkening to his exhortations stood firm by the artillery ; their behaviour encouraged the Sepoys, who made a strong fire from behind the low wall in their front, which, accompanied by the grape-shot of the four field pieces, soon abated the ardour of the enemy, and obliged them to retreat, leaving some horses, whose riders fell within 20 yards of the muzzles of the guns : captain Dalton then advanced a little way into the bed of the river, where he remained until he had collected the dead and wounded. Not a man who escaped could give any reason why he quitted his post, all of them acknowledging that at the time when they took flight only one man in the entrenchment was wounded, and that they had nine barrels of ammunition. 1752

This disaster diminished the strength of the garrison near one half, not by the number, but the quality of the troops that were lost ; for the killed and disabled were 70 Europeans, and 300 of the best Sepoys, together with the lieutenants Wilkey and Crow ; who having endeavoured in vain to rally the men, gallantly determined to stay in the entrenchment, where they were cut down. No farther hopes therefore remained of driving the regent out of Seringham ; on the contrary, it became necessary for the garrison, thus lessened, to give their whole attention to the security of the city ; and all negotiations between the Nabob and the regent being at an end, captain Dalton turned out the 700 Mysoreans, suffering them to retire peaceably with their arms and baggage : but he detained their commander Gopaulrauze, the regent's brother, permitting him however to keep such domesticks as he thought proper.

But

1752 But lest the enemy should imagine that he was totally dispirited, if he should remain inactive, captain Dalton determined to make some attempt, which, at the same time that it might be executed without much risque, might make them believe he was still in a capacity to act in the field. They had a post about four miles west of Tritchinopoly, at a pagoda called Velore, where the guard prevented the country people from carrying provisions into the city. The pagoda had a strong stone wall, and they had choaked up the great gate with mud, leaving at the bottom a wicket, by which only one man could enter at a time, and this they carefully shut every evening: 30 Europeans marched in a dark night, and having concealed themselves in a watercourse near the gate, a serjeant of artillery, carrying a barrel of gun powder with a long sausage to it, went forward, and digging, placed the barrel under the wicket unobserved, although the centinel was sitting at the top of the gate singing a Moorish song: the explosion not only brought down the mud-work, but also blew up the terrace of the gateway, with the guard asleep on it, so that the soldiers entered immediately without difficulty, and having fresh in their memory the loss of their comrades at the choultry, put all the Mysoreans they met to the sword.

The regent, convinced by this exploit that famine would be the surest means of reducing the garrison, ordered a party of 200 horse to lie on the plain every night, between the city and the country of the Polygar Tondiman, from whence alone provisions were obtained: they seized some of the people bringing in rice, and according to their ancient and barbarous custom, cut off their noses, and sent them thus mangled to Tritchinopoly. This cruelty struck such a terror, that for some days no one would venture to bring in supplies: in order therefore to dislodge this detachment, 400 men, Sepoys and Europeans, with two field pieces, marched in the evening and took possession of the ground where they used to pass the night; the enemy coming up some time after, did not discover their danger before they received the fire of the troops, which immediately put them to flight, and by their outcries it was imagined they suffered considerably.

Whatever

Whatever might be their loss, the surprize struck such a terror, 1752
that no more small detachments could be prevailed on to remain within reach of the garrison during the dark nights; and their refusal suggested to the regent the resolution of dividing his force, and of forming a considerable camp between the city and Tondiman's country, whilst he remained with the rest at Seringham. A multitude of people set to the work finished in a few days an entrenchment, with a stout mud wall, at a place called Facquire's *Tope*, or the grove of the Facquire, situated four miles to the south, and one to the west of the city; after which 5000 horse and 3000 foot, being nearly one half of the army, and the best troops in it, moved from the island with their baggage, and pitched their tents within this fortification. The effect of this disposition was soon severely felt; no more grain was brought to the market, the shops were shut, and the inhabitants began to cry famine, whilst the garrison had the mortification to perceive themselves incapable of removing the distress, being, since the loss at the choultry, too weak to cope with the enemy, in either of their camps.

Such was the situation of affairs at Tritchinopoly at the end of 1753
March 1753. In the mean time the junction of the Morattoes enabled Mr. Dupleix to make head against the Nabob in the Carnatic, and he had likewise received the satisfaction of hearing that his ally Salabad-jing had removed a most dangerous competitor for the Soubahship, by the murder of his brother Gazi-o-din Khan.

This prince having long sent before him many threats and rumours of his approach to the Decan, at length marched from Delhi; and in the beginning of October 1752, appeared before Aurengabad at the head of 150,000 men: at the same time, and by his instigation, Balagerow and Ragogi Bonsola entered the province of Gol-condah, with 100,000 Morattoes. Balagerow is known; and Ragogi Bonsola we have seen invading the Carnatic in 1740, ten years before which he had made conquests and established the Morattoe dominion in some parts of the province of Berar, from whence, in conjunction with Balagerow, he invaded Bengal in 1744. Salabad-jing and Mr. Bussy were at Gol-condah when they received intelligence of the approach of these armies, and immediately took the field with their utmost

1752 most force, and at Beder, a very strong and ancient city 60 miles north-west of Gol-condah, were met by the Morattoes. Meanwhile Ghazi-o-din Khan entered Aurengabad without opposition. He had brought with him from Delhi a French surgeon named DeVolton, who had long been principal physician to the Great Mogul. This man, Ghazi-o-din Khan sent forward to Pondicherry, as an envoy empowered by the Great Mogul to offer Mr. Dupleix many advantages, if he would withdraw the French troops from the service of Salabad-jing : and as a proof of this commission, De Volton was furnished with a blank paper, to which the great seal of the empire was affixed. Salabad-jing receiving intelligence of these intentions, set about to frustrate them by a method which could not fail of success, as it could not naturally be suspected ; for he prevailed on his mother, who was at Aurengabad, to poison his brother, who, however was not her son ; which she effected by sending him a plate of victuals, prepared, as she too truly assured him, with her own hands. On his death the greatest part of his army returned to their homes ; but some joined the Morattoes at Beder.

Whatsoever apprehensions Salabad-jing might have, that Scheabeddin the son of Ghazi-o-din Khan at Delhi, would obtain the Soubahship of the Decan, and revenge the murder of his father ; he affected to fear nothing from him, either as an enemy or a competitor : and asserting with more confidence than ever, that he himself was the real Soubah, sent immediately on Ghazi-o-din Khan's death, an embassador of his own to Pondicherry, who likewise pretended to come from the great Mogul, with a patent, as Salabad-jing had promised, confirming Mr. Dupleix Nabob of the countries to the south of the Kristna. The man was received with great pomp and respect, and the patent published throughout the province with much ostentation.

But still this title, specious as it might be, furnished Mr. Dupleix with no money, which in the wars of Indostan is of more service than any title whatsoever ; for the revenues which Salabad-jing received at Aurengabad were continually exhausted by the great army he was obliged to maintain, and the charge of Mr. Bussy's troops alone amounted to 400,000 pounds a year. The distress was as great at Pondi-

Pondicherry ; for although many chiefs in the Carnatic had without compulsion contributed to support the cause of Chunda-saheb during his life, their zeal ceased at his death, from their sense of the incapacity of his son Raja-saheb, little qualified to prosecute a contest in which a man of his father's abilities had perished : and in this time of anarchy and confusion, whilst the authority of no one extended farther than his sword could reach, every chief reserved for himself whatever revenues he could collect. So that notwithstanding Mr. Dupleix's title was acknowledged by all who did not wish well to Mahomed-ally, his power was confined to the districts which lie between Pondicherry and Gingee, and these did not furnish more than 50,000 pounds a year : at the same time the French company, missed by his representations, sent out no more money than was necessary for their commerce, and with positive orders that it should not be employed to any other purpose. These disadvantages would probably have reduced the French to cease hostilities after the capture at Seringham, had not Mr. Dupleix been endowed (and this at least is much to his honour) with a perseverance, that even superseded his regard to his own fortune, of which he had at that time disbursed 140,000 pounds, and he continued with the same spirit to furnish more ; but as this resource could not last long, and as the slender capacity of Raja-saheb rendered him rather a burthen than a support to the cause, he determined to make him relinquish the title of Nabob, and to give it to some other person, from whose wealth, ability, and connexion, he might reasonably expect considerable resources for carrying on the war. The man he pitched upon was Mortiz-ally Khan of Velore, to whom he displayed all the commissions he had received from Salabat-jing, and discovered the state of his negotiations with the Morattoes, and Mysoreans. The Phousdar, sensible that there could not be much risk in taking part with such an apparent superiority, accepted the proposal, levied troops, and resolved to go to Pondicherry, as soon as the journey might be undertaken without danger. In the mean time 50 Europeans were sent from Pondicherry to Velore, and with their assistance he formed a conspiracy with the French prisoners in the fort of Arcot, who were to rise and overpower the English garrison, which they greatly outnumbered ; but a suspicion of this treachery was luckily enter-

1752

1752 tained in time to prevent the success of it, and the prisoners were removed in the latter end of December to Chinglapett. Thus ended the year 1752 in the Carnatic.

1753 On the 3d of January 1753, the French, consisting of 500 Europeans, and a troop of 60 horse, together with 2000 Sepoys, and 4000 Morattoes under the command of Morari-row, marched from Valdore, and entrenched on the banks of the river Pannar, in sight of Trivadi: upon which Major Lawrence, with the Nabob, returned from Fort St. David to their former encampment at that place. Their force consisted of 700 Europeans, 2000 Sepoys, and 1500 dastardly horse belonging to the Nabob. On the 9th the Morattoes, supported by two companies of Topasses in their own pay, advanced with three field pieces, and began to cannonade the village of Trivadi. The battalion was immediately under arms, and the grenadiers, with some Sepoys, were ordered to attack their guns, which they got possession of before the enemy had time to fire a second round: the Morattoes still remaining on the plain, Major Lawrence followed them two miles towards their camp, and having as he thought sufficiently dispersed them with his field pieces, prepared to return, when they came galloping up again furiously on all sides, and surrounded him. The soldiers preserved their fire till every shot did execution, and the artillery men behaving with the same calmness and resolution soon beat them off, with the loss of 100 men killed. Morari-row, on his return to the camp reproached the French for their cowardice, in not having supported him in the manner that had been concerted between them. He continued however with great activity to distress their enemies, by sending out parties, which prevented the country people from bringing provisions to the English camp; and this obliged Major Lawrence, when in want, to march with his whole force, and escort his supplies from Fort St. David. These marches were excessively fatiguing, and might have been dangerous, had the French behaved with the same activity and spirit as the Morattoes, who never failed to be on the road harrassing, and sometimes charging, the line of march: on the 28th of January, in particular, they accompanied the battalion the whole way from Trivadi to Fort St. David: but dispirited by the loss of 300 of their horses, which were killed by the field pieces in the

2 different

different skirmishes of the day, they did not venture to attack the troops as they were returning to the camp with the convoy. 1753

Supported as the French were by this excellent cavalry, they might without much risque have ventured on a general engagement; but Mr. Dupleix, whose eye was always on Tritchinopoly, determined to protract the war on the sea coast as long as possible, that the Mysoreans might not be interrupted from blockading the city. He therefore ordered his troops on the Pannar to act intirely on the defensive, and to strengthen their entrenchments; which, with the usual dexterity of that nation in works of this kind, were soon compleated and rendered little inferior to the defences of a regular fortress. The English presidency, sensible of the great risque of storming such works without a sufficient body of horse to cover the flanks of their infantry during the attack, sollicited the king of Tanjore to send his cavalry to their assistance: he promised fair., and a detachment of Europeans with two field pieces marched from Trivadi to favour the junction; but they had not proceeded far, before they heard that the king had recalled his troops to the capital, on a report that the Morattoes intended to enter his country.

Disappointed of this assistance, Major Lawrence was obliged to remain inactive in his camp, contemplating every day the situation of the enemy, which he had in sight, and fretting at his incapacity to attack them. The Morattoes in the mean time were not idle; their parties were seen now at Trinomalee, then at Arcot, then at Chillambrum, that is, in every part of the province between the river Paliar, and the Coleroon. In the middle of February, one of their detachments appeared, flourishing their sabres, and caracolling within musket shot of Chimundelum, the western redoubt of the bound-hedge of St. David: their insolence irritated the guard, and the serjeant, a brave but blundering man, thinking this an opportunity of distinguishing himself and of getting promotion, marched into the plain with his whole force, 25 Europeans, and 50 Sepoys. The enemy retreated, until the party was advanced half a mile from the redoubt; when they turned on a sudden, and galloping up surrounded them in an instant; the serjeant, not doubting that the first fire would disperse them.

1753 them, gave it in a general volly, which did some execution; but before the troops could load again, the Morattoes charged them impetuously sword in hand, broke the rank, and every horseman singling out a particular man, cut them all to pieces. Inactivity or retreat in war is never in Indostan imputed to prudence or stratagem, and the side which ceases to gain successes is generally supposed to be on the brink of ruin. Such were the notions entertained of the army at Trivadi, and they were industriously propagated by Mr. Dupleix, in order to encourage his new ally Mortiz-ally to set up his standard in the province. The Phousdar with his usual caution first encamped without Velore, then advanced somewhat farther, and at last, assured by the Morattoes that they would cover his march, ventured to proceed to Pondicherry, where, on furnishing 50,000 pounds for the expences of the war, he was with great ceremony and public rejoicings proclaimed Nabob of the Carnatic.

But the satisfaction he might receive from this exaltation did not last long. It was proposed that he should begin by imitating the conduct of Chunda-saheb, and appear at the head of the army: this his nature abhorred. On settling the terms of his regency, so much assistance in money and troops was expected from him, and so little power or advantage offered in return, that he found the Nabobship held on such conditions, would be of less value than the independant possession of his government of Velore. At the same time suspecting what he himself would infallibly have done in a similar case, he was terrified with the notion that Mr. Dupleix would keep him a prisoner at Pondicherry, if he discovered his aversion to have any farther connexion with him; these sentiments did not escape the sagacity of Mr. Dupleix; but he had too much good sense, not to see that such a breach of faith would probably determine the enemies of Mahomed-ally to make their peace on any terms with that prince. He therefore consented to Mortiz-ally's return, who promising to make war in the country about Arcot, left Pondicherry in the end of March, convinced for the first time in his life, that he had met with a more cunning man than himself.

In the mean time, no military operations passed, excepting the

skirmishes

skirmishes of the Morattoes with the English battalion, during three 1753 or four marches, which they were obliged to make, in order to escort their provisions from Fort St. David. The French were not to be inticed out of their entrenchments ; and Major Lawrence, seeing no other method of striking a decisive blow, determined to storm their camp. The presidency seconded this resolution, by sending 200 Europeans, of which 100 were a company of Swiss lately arrived from Bengal, to Fort St. David ; where the battalion joined them ; and the whole, with a large convoy of provisions, set out for the camp, on the first of April. The whole body of the Morattoes were waiting for them in sight of the bound-hedge ; and behaved this day with more activity than ever, rarely removing out of cannon shot, and galloping up whenever the incumbrances of the baggage disunited the line of march, and left intervals open to their attacks. Thus continually threatened, and often assaulted, the convoy advanced very slowly. The weather was excessive hot, and several men fell dead with the heat, fatigue, and the want of water. When within three miles of Trivadi, the Morattoes made a general and vigorous charge, surrounding the front of the line, and were with difficulty repulsed many of their horses fell within a few yards of the field pieces, and amongst the slain was Bazinrow, Morari-row's nephew, the same who came to captain Clive's assistance, after the siege of Arcot. His death damped their ardour, and they retreated to a distance. But the work of the day was not yet over ; for the troops continuing their march, discovered within a mile of Trivadi, the French troops and Sepoys drawn up on their right : the convoy happened luckily to march on the left along the bank of the river Gandelu. The two battalions advanced against each other cannonading, until the French coming to a hollow-way, halted on the opposite side, imagining that the English would not venture to pass it under the disadvantage of being exposed to their fire ; but Major Lawrence ordered the Sepoys and artillery to halt and defend the convoy against the Morattoes, still hovering about, and pushed on briskly with the main body of Europeans across the hollow way : the enemy, who expected to find the English fatigued with a long and harrassing march, were so startled at the vivacity of this motion, that they only stayed to give one fire, and then ran

1753 ran away with the utmost precipitation, leaving the English to finish their march without farther molestation. As soon as the troops were recovered from their fatigue, Major Lawrence approached nearer the enemy's camp, within a mile of which they had an advanced party, at the village of Caryamungalum; the grenadiers and 100 men of the battalion were ordered to attack this post, and soon get possession of it; after which a battery of two eighteen pounders was erected against their entrenchments, at the distance of 700 yards: it was not before this time that the English perfectly discovered the strength of their works, which consisted of a rampart cannon proof, with redoubts at proper distances, a broad and deep ditch, and a good glacis, defended by 30 pieces of cannon. The battery fired for some time, but made no impression, and the difficulty of getting provisions increasing with the distance from St. David, it was thought proper to desist from the attempt, and the army returned to Trivadi.

In the mean time, the Morattoes were indefatigable, and being joined by a small party from Pondicherry, surprized a fort near Chillambrum, called Bonagerry, from whence Fort St. David drew large supplies of grain: captain Kilpatrick marched with a detachment to retake the place; and upon his approach they abandoned it in the night.

Three months ineffectually employed to bring the enemy to a general engagement, convinced Major Lawrence of the necessity of altering his plan of operations. He consulted with the Nabob on removing the war to some other part of the country, in order to draw the French battalion from their present impregnable situation; but it was not easy to determine where they should carry their arms; and whilst they were deliberating on the choice, sudden and unexpected news from Tritchinopoly resolved the difficulty, and left them without an option.

Captain Dalton, foreseeing the distresses to which the city would be reduced after the defeat of his party at the Choultry, had often questioned Kiroodin Khan the governor, on the quantity of provisions he had in store; who always assured him, with great confidence, that he had sufficient to supply the garrison for four months. For some time

time the small convoys, which got into the city in spite of the enemy's patroles, balanced the daily consumption made out of the magazines; but as soon as the Mysorean divided his army into two camps, all supplies were cut off, and a party of Sepoys, which had been sent into Tondiman's country, were not able to get back. In this situation captain Dalton insisted on examining the magazines, when to his great surprize Kiroodin Khan informed him that he had taken advantage of the scarcity, to sell out the provisions to the inhabitants at a high price, not doubting but that opportunities of replacing them would offer, and acknowledged that the stock remaining was no more than sufficient for fifteen days: in which time the army at Trivadi could hardly receive the news, and march to the relief of the city. Expostulations were vain, for the mischief was real; an express was therefore sent with this alarming intelligence to major Lawrence, who received it at ten at night, the 20th of April, and instantly issued orders for the troops to be in readiness to march by day-break; when, leaving a garrison of 150 Europeans, and 500 Sepoys, at Trivadi, the rest proceeded to Fort St. David, in order to collect the necessary supplies of military stores. 1753

The want of horse having hitherto been the principal obstacle to the progress of the Nabob's affairs, it was determined to apply again to the king of Tanjore, and in order to encourage, or if necessary to awe him into a compliance, it was resolved to proceed to Tritchinopoly, through his dominions. The army on the 22d of April passed by Chillambrum, and as soon as they crossed the Coleroon, the king deputed Succojee, his prime minister, to compliment the Nabob and major Lawrence; and when they were arrived at Condore, ten miles from the capital, he desired an interview, and met them half way at one of his gardens, where he appeared in great splendor, accompanied by 3000 horse, and 200 elephants in rich trappings. Seeming to be convinced that it was his own interest to support the Nabob, he gave orders to his horse to proceed with him to Tritchinopoly; but the next day, after marching a few miles, they left the army, promising, however, to return very soon.

During this interval captain Dalton had not been inactive at Tritchi-

 nopoly.

1753 nopoly. The enemy's troops at the Facquire's Tope were commanded by Virana, the same general who led the van of the army, when the Mysoreans first joined the English detachment at Kistnavaram, where captain Dalton had an opportunity of discovering the little reach of his military capacity, and knowing him to be a very timorous man, particularly in the night, he did not doubt that if frequent alarms were given to the camp, the Mysorean would, out of regard to his own security, send no more detachments abroad to intercept provisions coming to the city. For this purpose, he erected a redoubt, within random cannon shot of the enemy's camp, but much nearer to the city; and when this post was well secured, and two pieces of heavy cannon mounted on it, the guard frequently advanced with two field pieces, and fired into the camp; in the day time taking care to return to the redoubt, as soon as the enemy began to move, which they were apprized of by signals from the rock in Tritchinopoly; but in the night they proceeded with less caution, and advanced near enough to throw grape shot into the camp, the Mysoreans never once venturing to send out a detachment to cut off their retreat. Encouraged by this proof of their imbecillity, the party, under favour of a very dark night, approached the 15th of April much nearer, and fired 30 rounds of grape shot into the camp, from each of the field pieces; which created no small confusion, as appeared by the number of lights the enemy raised, and the great uproar they made: next day the party had scarce recommenced their fire from the usual station, before they perceived the enemy decamping in a great hurry; but suspecting this to be a feint to draw them nearer in order to cut off their retreat, they continued firing very briskly without advancing: and before noon the enemy struck all their tents, and abandoned the camp, which the party then took possession of, and found in it a large quantity of rice and other provisions, as also several wounded men, who informed them, that the cannonade of the preceding night having killed an elephant, two camels, and several horses, had struck Virana with such terror, that he determined not to stand the risk of another attack. He however remained to the south of the Caveri two or three days longer; but on receiving certain intelligence of major Lawrence's

Lawrence's march, he joined the rest of the Mysoreans at Seringham, 1753
and the country people ventured again to bring provisions into the city.

On the 6th of May, the major arrived in sight of Tritchinopoly, and entered the city without meeting any interruption ; for none of the Mysoreans presumed to appear on the plain : the number of the battalion was greatly diminished during the march, which was performed at the setting in of the land winds, when they blow with the greatest heat and violence ; besides several who died on the road, and others who were sent back sick to Fort St. David, and Devi Cotah, 100 men unfit for duty were carried into the hospital at Tritchinopoly on the day of their arrival : many had likewise deserted ; particularly of the Swiss, of whom a serjeant and 15 men went off in one day : so that the whole, including what the garrison of Tritchinopoly could spare for the field, amounted, when mustered, to no more than 500 Europeans, who with 2000 Sepoys, and 3000 horse in the Nabob's service, composed the army.

As soon as Mr. Dupleix was certain what rout they had taken, he detached 200 Europeans, and 500 Sepoys, with four field pieces, from the camp near Trivadi : who marching by the road of Verdachelum, Volcondah and Utatoor, joined the Mysoreans at Seringham, the day after the English arrived at Tritchinopoly.

Major Lawrence having allowed the men three days to refresh themselves, determined on the 10th of May to pass over into the island, and offer the enemy battle, which if they declined, he resolved to bombard Seringham, and cannonade their camp : the Nabob's cavalry, discontented for want of pay, refused to take any share in the action. The battalion and Sepoys therefore proceeded without them, and setting out at three in the morning in two divisions, arrived at six at Moota Chellinoor, a village four miles west of the city, over against the head of the island. A large body of horse and foot, drawn up on the opposite side, seemed determined to defend the pass, but were soon dispersed by the first division, and whilst the second was crossing they retreated towards the pagoda, from whence the Mysoreans no sooner discovered the English forming on the island,

1753 than they swarmed out in great numbers, and their cavalry, led by the Morattoes under the command of Harrasing, came galloping up at a great rate, and making a resolute charge on the left of the line, where a body of Sepoys were posted, broke through them sword in hand; but the Sepoys seeing three platoons of Europeans advancing to their support, behaved with spirit, and recovering their ground, kept up a smart fire, which after a severe slaughter repulsed the cavalry, who made a most precipitate retreat towards the pagoda, exposed to the fire of ten pieces of cannon, eight of which were field pieces which accompanied the troops, and two eighteen pounders which captain Dalton had sent to the bank of the river. By this time Mr. Astruc, with the French troops and Sepoys marched up, and lodging the greatest part of them in a water course, where they were effectually sheltered, placed his cannon, four field pieces, on an eminence, from whence they made a brisk fire. They were answered by the English artillery; but as it was not thought prudent to make a push at the water course, at the risque of being fallen upon by such numbers of cavalry as covered the plain, major Lawrence, to preserve his main body from the enemy's cannonade, ordered them to take shelter behind a bank, so that the sight was maintained only by the artillery until noon, when a party of the enemy's Sepoys, with some Topasses, took possession of a large choultry to the left of the English line, which they began to incommode with the fire of their musketry; upon this the company of grenadiers, with a detachment of Swiss under the command of captain Polier, were ordered to dislodge the Sepoys; which service the grenadiers effected with great resolution; and, animated by their success, pursued the fugitives until they insensibly gained the flank of the water course, where the main body of the French troops was concealed; who, on seeing the danger which threatened them, prepared to retreat, and were actually on the point of abandoning two of the field pieces, when captain Polier, who remained with the Swiss at the choultry, and from thence could not see the enemy's confusion, sent orders for the grenadiers to return. Thus was lost one of those critical moments, on which the greatest advantages of war so often depend; but without any disparagement to

to the reputation of Polier, whose orders directing him only to dislodge the enemy from the choultry, he would have been culpable, had he pushed his success farther without a subsequent order; which the major had no reason to send, as from the situation he was in, he could not discover the distress of the enemy. On the retreat of the grenadiers, the French again took possession of the water course, and renewed the cannonade, which lasted till the evening, when the want of provisions, as well as the excessive fatigue which the English troops had undergone, obliged them to repass the river, and return to Tritchinopoly; where they arrived at 10 at night, having without intermission been employed 20 hours either in march or action. The loss they sustained was much less than might have been expected, from the fire to which they had been exposed; for only three officers were wounded, and two with four private men and a few Sepoys killed. 1753

The operations of this day shewed that the French troops were commanded by an abler officer than any who had yet appeared at their head; and little hopes remaining of dislodging the Mysoreans from the pagoda, major Lawrence gave his whole attention to the means of supplying the city with provisions. For this purpose the army marched into the plain, and encamped at the Facquire's Tope, within the entrenchment which Virana, the Mysore general had lately abandoned, where they lay conveniently for protecting the convoys coming from Tondiman's country; proper agents, supported by a detachment of troops, were sent to purchase grain, and at the same time the King of Tanjore was requested to collect and send supplies. But the Mysorean was not wanting to counteract these measures; he kept an agent both at Tanjore, and with Tondiman, who represented, that if Tritchinopoly should once be provided with a considerable stock of provisions, it was not to be doubted but that the Nabob and the English would immediately carry their arms again into the Carnatic, leaving their allies exposed to the just resentment of the regent, who would not fail to take the severest revenge for the service they had rendered his enemies. This reasoning was well adapted to the genius of those to whom it was addressed; for the

Indians,

1753 Indians, never influenced by the principle of gratitude themselves, do not expect to meet with it in others; and accustomed, after they have gained their ends, to pay no regard to the promises they have made, they gave little credit to major Lawrence when he assured them that he would never remove from Tritchinopoly, before he had provided for the safety of their countries. Nor did the Mysorean neglect to employ the resource of money to alienate these precarious allies: in Tondiman's country he bribed the chiefs and officers of such districts as lay convenient for furnishing provisions; and at Tanjore gained over to his interest the prime minister Succojee, who intirely ruled the King his master; however the King, not wholly unsollicitous of the consequences, if the English fortune should change again, palliated his refusal with specious pretexts, and wrote to the presidency that the enemy's detachments had already done mischief to the amount of 100,000 pounds in his country, where the harvest was now coming on, but that as soon as it was gathered he would not fail to give them all the assistance in his power: this pretended mischief was no more than what all other parts of the country had suffered from the Morattoes, who in their predatory excursions made no distinction between the territories of friends and foes.

Thus, notwithstanding no prudent measure was neglected, the supplies received were so far from being sufficient to stock the magazines, that it was with difficulty, enough was procured for the immediate consumption of the army and Garrison. In this situation major Lawrence was obliged to remain for five weeks, without having an opportunity of acting against the enemy, who determined not to expose themselves, until they were reinforced from the sea coast.

The French troops in this part of the country quitted their entrenchments on the same day that the major marched from Fort St. David, and a detachment of 200 Europeans, with 300 Sepoys, attacked the village of Trivadi; but captain Chace, the commanding officer, sallying from the fort, repulsed them; some days after they renewed the attack, and were again repulsed by a detachment of 60 Europeans, and 300 Sepoys; who, elated with their success, quitted the

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village, and contrary to their orders marched out into the plain: the 1753 Morattoes, who were in sight, waiting for such an opportunity of exerting themselves, instantly surrounded the party, and charging with great fury, routed them, and cut every man to pieces. This loss disabling the garrison from making any more sallies, the French took possession of the village, erected a battery, and cannonaded the fort. The troops within were still sufficient to have made a good defence; but a mutiny arose, and the lenity of the commanding officer's temper, not permitting him to see the necessity of making severe examples in the beginning, the men, no longer controulable, got possession of the arrack, and mad with liquor, obliged him to capitulate, and were made prisoners of war: this misfortune affected captain Chace so sensibly, that it threw him into a fever, of which he died soon after at Pondicherry. At the same time a detachment of Morattoes, with some Europeans, appeared before Chillambrum, where the English kept a serjeant with a few artillery-men; who discovering that the governor was plotting to deliver them up to the enemy, marched away in the night to Devi Cotah. Nor was the loss of these places and their dependencies the only detriment which the Nabob's affairs had sustained in the Carnatic; for a number of petty commanders, soldiers of fortune, set up their standards, and pretending to be authorized by Mr. Dupleix and Morari-row, levied contributions, and committed violences in all parts of the country. Even Mortiz-ally hearing soon after his return to Velore that the English did not venture to attack the French entrenchments at Trivadi, and that Tritchinopoly was hard pressed by the Mysoreans, took courage, and entertaining thoughts of asserting the title which Mr. Dupleix had conferred upon him, ordered his troops to commit hostilities in the neighbourhood near Arcot. His force consisted of 50 Europeans, with three pieces of cannon, who accompanied him from Pondicherry, and 2000 Sepoys, 1500 horse, and 500 matchlock Peons, his own troops. They plundered all the villages lying near the city without meeting any interruption; for Abdullwahab Khan, the Nabob's brother, and lieutenant in the province, an indolent sensual man, dissipated in his pleasures and upon his favourites most of the monies he collected, and gave no attention to the maintaining of a competent

1753 competent force to support his authority: encouraged by this negligence, Mortiz-ally threatened to attack the city of Arcot itself, of which the presidency receiving intelligence, directed the commanding officer of the fort to join the Nabob's troops with as many Europeans as could prudently be spared from the garrison, and attack the enemy in the field. Abdullwahab, alarmed for his own security, with some difficulty got together 800 Sepoys, 1000 horse and 500 Peons, all of them the very worst troops in the province; they were commanded by another of the Nabob's brothers Nazeabulla, a man nearly of the same character as Abdullwahab. This force, joined by 40 Europeans, 200 English Sepoys, with two field pieces under the command of ensign Joseph Smith, marched out of the city on the 21st of April, and when half-way to Velore discovered the Phousdar's army drawn up across the road, their right sheltered by the hills. It was with great reluctance that Nazeabulla Khan could be prevailed upon to attack them, although it was evident they would fall on him, as soon as he offered to retreat: ensign Smith began a cannonade, and drove the French several times from their guns, but a party of 500 excellent Sepoys maintained themselves with much more resolution behind a bank, and in several attempts that were made to drive them from it, most of the English Sepoys were lost. The enemy's cavalry seeing this, attacked the Europeans, but were repulsed by the grape shot; on which they pushed at Nazeabulla's cavalry, who took flight without waiting the onset, and soon after his Sepoys and Peons went off likewise, leaving the Europeans, now reduced to 25 men, with about 40 Sepoys, surrounded by the enemy. Ensign Smith however kept the ground until night, when his men leaving the field pieces behind, endeavoured, as they could, to get back to the city; but they were discovered, and all, excepting three, were intercepted; some were killed, and the rest, amongst whom was ensign Smith, were made prisoners and carried to Velore. Flushed by this success, Mortiz-ally renewed his correspondence with Mr. Dupleix, and undertook to besiege Trinomalee, a strong fort situated about 40 miles south of Arcot, in the high road to Tritchinopoly, and Morari-row moved from Chillambrum to assist in the expedition. But Mr. Dupleix thinking it of more import-

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ance to reinforce the army at Seringham, prevailed on him to detach 3000 of his Morattoes under the command of Innis Khan, and joined to them 300 Europeans and 1000 Sepoys. 1753

As soon as these troops arrived, the enemy quitted Seringham, and crossing the Caveri, encamped on the plain three miles to the north of Facquire's Tope. Their force now consisted of 450 Europeans, 1500 well-trained Sepoys, 8000 Mysore horse, 3500 Morattoes, and two companies of Topasses with 1000 Sepoys in the service of the regent; the rest of whose infantry was 15,000 Peons, armed with matchlocks, swords, bows and arrows, pikes, clubs, and rockets; imperfect weapons worthy the rabble that bore them. Major Lawrence had only the 500 Europeans, and the 2000 Sepoys he brought with him from the coast; but 700 of these Sepoys were continually employed in the Polygar's country, to escort the convoys; his artillery were eight excellent six-pounders; of the Nabob's horse only 100 encamped with the English, the rest remaining under the walls, and peremptorily refusing to march until they were paid their arrears.

There are, about a mile to the south of the Facquire's Tope, some high mountains called the five rocks, on the summit of which the Major always kept a strong guard of Sepoys: but he being obliged to go into the city for the recovery of his health, the officer who commanded during his absence neglected to continue this detachment. The enemy reconnoitring, and finding this post without defence, detached in the night a strong party to take possession of it; and early the next morning their whole army was discovered in motion, assembling under shelter of the five rocks, whilst their advanced cannon plunged into the English camp; whither the Major immediately returned, but found it impossible to regain the post: he however kept his ground until night, and then encamped about a quarter of a mile nearer the city, behind a small eminence which sheltered the troops from the enemy's artillery; they the next day quitted the camp to the north of the Facquire's Tope, and encamped at the five rocks. Here they had it in their power intirely to cut off the supplies of provisions coming from the Polygar's country, and to intercept the

1753 detachment of 700 Sepoys sent to escort them: at the same time the great superiority of their numbers, and the advantage of the ground they occupied, rendered an attack upon their camp impracticable: but it was evident that if they were not soon dislodged, neither the English army in the field, nor the garrison of the city, could subsist long; to augment the distress, a strong spirit of desertion arose among the soldiery. In these circumstances, even the most sanguine began to lose hope, and to apprehend that the city must be abandoned in order to save the troops from perishing by famine.

The Major had stationed a guard of 200 Sepoys, on a small rock situated about half a mile south-west of his camp, and nearly a mile north-east of the enemy's. Mr. Astruc soon discovered the importance of this post, which if he could get possession of, his artillery would easily oblige the English to decamp again, and retire under the walls of the city, where, still more streightened, they would probably be reduced in a very few days to the necessity of retreating to their settlements. He therefore resolved to attack the post, and marched early in the morning, on the 26th of June, with his grenadiers and a large body of Sepoys; but they meeting with more resistance than was expected, he ordered the whole army to move and support them. The Major, as soon as he found the rock attacked, ordered the picquet guard of the camp, consisting of 40 Europeans, to march and support his Sepoys: but afterwards observing the whole of the enemy's army in motion, he ordered all his troops to get under arms, and leaving 100 Europeans to take care of the camp, marched with the rest of his force, which, in Europeans did not exceed 300 battalion men, with 80 belonging to the artillery; and he had with him no more than 500 Sepoys: for the rest were at this time in the city endeavouring to procure rice, of which none had been sold in camp since the enemy appeared on the plain. With this small force, he hastened, as fast as they could march, to reach the rock before the enemy's main body. But Mr. Astruc, with the party already engaged in the attack, perceiving his approach, made a vigorous effort, and before the Major had got half way, the Sepoys who defended the rock, were all either killed, or taken prisoners, and the French colours immediately hoisted. This

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obliged the Major to halt, and consider what was most adviseable to be done in this critical conjuncture, on which the fate of the whole war seemed to depend. There was little time for deliberation : for the French battalion were now arrived behind the rock, and their artillery from the right and left of it, were firing upon the English troops ; the rock itself was covered by their Sepoys supported by their grenadiers ; the whole Mysore army was drawn up in one great body at the distance of cannon-shot in the rear ; the Morattoes were, as usual, flying about in small detachments, and making charges on the flanks and rear of the English battalion in order to intimidate and create confusion. 1753

In such circumstances the officers unanimously agreed in opinion with their general, that it was safer to make a gallant push, than to retreat before such numbers of enemies : and the soldiers seeming much delighted at this opportunity of having what they called a fair knock at the French men on the plain, major Lawrence took advantage of the good disposition of the whole, and giving due commendations to their spirit, ordered the grenadiers to attack the rock with fixed bayonets, whilst he himself with the rest of the troops, wheeled round the foot of it to engage the French battalion. The soldiers received the orders with three huzzas, and the grenadiers setting out at a great rate, though at the same time keeping their ranks, paid no attention to the scattered fire they received from the rock, nor made a halt until they got to the top of it ; whilst the enemy terrified at their intrepidity, descended as they were mounting, without daring to stand the shock of their onset. Some of the best Sepoys followed the grenadiers, and all together began a strong fire upon the French troops, drawn up within pistol shot below. In the mean time Mr. Astruc, perceiving that the left flank of his battalion would, if it remained drawn up facing the north, be exposed to the English troops, wheeling round the foot of the rock, changed his position, and drew up facing the west, in order to oppose them in front. But this movement exposed his right flank to the fire of the grenadiers and Sepoys from the rock ; by which his troops had already suffered considerably, when the English battalion executing their evolution with great ad-

1753 dress, drew up at once directly opposite to the enemy, at the distance of 20 yards.

The French troops were struck with consternation upon seeing themselves thus daringly attacked in the midst of their numerous allies, by such a handful of men ; and indeed a stranger, taking a view of the two armies from the top of one of the rocks on the plain, could scarcely have believed that the one ventured to dispute a province with the other.

Mr. Astruc exerted himself as a brave and active officer, and with difficulty prevailed on his men to keep their ranks with recovered arms, until the English gave their fire, which falling in a well levell'd discharge from the whole battalion, and seconded by a hot fire from the rock, together with a discharge of grape shot from the first field piece that came up, threw them into irreparable disorder ; they ran away with the utmost precipitation, leaving three pieces of cannon, with some ammunition carts behind them. The Morattoes immediately made a gallant effort to cover their retreat by flinging themselves between, and some of the grenadiers, who had run forward to seize the field pieces, fell under their sabres. Animated by this success, they attacked the battalion, pushing in several charges up to the very bayonets, and endeavouring to cut down the men, who constantly received them with so much steadiness, that they were not able to throw a single platoon into disorder : at length having suffered much, and lost several of their best men by the incessant fire of the line, they desisted from their attacks, and retreated to the main body of the Mysoreans : amongst their dead was Ballapah, one of their principal officers, brother-in-law to Morari-row, a very gallant man, much esteemed by the English, who had often seen him exert himself with great bravery when fighting on their side : he had broke his sword in cutting down a grenadier, when another, who was loading his piece, and saw his comrade fall, shot both ball and ramrod through his body. In the mean time the French never halted until they got into the rear of the Mysore army, when their officers prevailed on them to get into order again, and drew them up in a line with their allies, from whence they fired their two remaining field pieces with great vivacity, although the shot did not reach above half way.

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The Major remained three hours at the foot of the rock, in order to give them an opportunity of renewing the fight; but finding that they shewed no inclination to move towards him, he prepared to return to his camp, leaving them to take possession of the rock again at their peril; for since the loss of the 200 Sepoys that defended it in the beginning of the action, he did not think it prudent to expose another detachment to the same risque, at such a distance from his main body. The three guns with the prisoners were placed in the center, and the troops marching in platoons on each side, the artillery was distributed in the front, rear, and intervals of the column. The rear had scarcely got clear of the rock into the plain, when the whole of the enemy's cavalry set up their shout, and came furiously on, flourishing their swords as if they were resolved to exterminate at once the handful of men that opposed them. Whosoever has seen a body of ten thousand horse advancing on the full gallop all together, will acknowledge with the Mareschals Villars and Saxe that their appearance is tremendous, be their discipline or courage what it will; and such an onset would doubtless have disconcerted untried soldiers; but the enemy had to deal with Veterans equal to any who have done honour to the British nation; men convinced by repeated experience that a body of well-disciplined infantry would always prevail against irregular cavalry, let their numbers be ever so great. In this confidence they halted, and without the least emotion, waited for the enemy, who were suffered to come sufficiently near before the signal was given to the artillery officers: the cannonade then began from eight six pounders, loaded with grape, and was kept up at the rate of eight or ten shot in a minute from each piece, so well directed that every shot went amongst the crowd, as was visible by the numbers that dropped: this soon stopped their career, and they stood a while like men astonished by the fall of thunder; but finding no intermission of the fire, and that the battalion and Sepoys reserved theirs with recovered arms, they went to the right about, and got out of the reach as fast as they had come on, leaving the troops to return quietly to their camp. 1753

Thus was Tritchinopoly saved by a success, which astonished even those who had gained it; nor was the attempt, however desperate it

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1753 might seem, justified by the success alone; for as the city would inevitably have fallen if the English had remained inactive, so the loss of it would have been hastened only a few days if they had been defeated; and major Lawrence undoubtedly acted with as much sagacity as spirit in risquing every thing to gain a victory, on which alone depended the preservation of the great object of the war.

The enemy dispirited by their defeat, began to disagree amongst themselves; the Mysoreans and French reciprocally imputing their ill success to one another, and the Morattoes with great reason to both; their parties appeared less frequently on the plain in the day, and none ventured to patrole in the night: the English Sepoys in Tondiman's country availing themselves of this interval, quitted the woods, and joined the camp in the night, with a convoy of provisions which furnished a stock for fifty days. This necessary object being provided for, the Major determined to avoid coming again to a general engagement, before he was joined by some troops, which the arrival of the ships from Europe enabled the presidency to send into the field: they were ordered to march through the Tanjore country; and as a body of cavalry was still more necessary to enable the army to act with vigour against an enemy which had such numbers, he resolved to proceed without delay to Tanjore, in hopes that whilst he was waiting for the reinforcement, the appearance of the army and the reputation of their late success might determine the king to declare openly, and furnish the assistance of horse, of which the English stood so much in need. The presence of the Nabob, being thought necessary to facilitate the negociation, he prepared to march with the army; but on the evening that he intended to quit the city, his discontented troops assembled in the outer court of the palace, and clamouring declared that they would not suffer him to move, before he had paid their arrears; in vain were arguments to convince this rabble, more insolent because they had never rendered any essential service, that his going to Tanjore was the only measure from which they could hope for a chance of receiving their pay; they remained inflexible, and threatened violence; upon which captain Dalton sent a messenger to the camp, from whence the grenadier company immediately marched into the city, where they were joined by

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100 of the garrison, and all together forcing their way into the palace, they got the Nabob into his palankeen, and escorted him to the camp surrounded by 200 Europeans with fixed bayonets; the malecontents not daring to offer him any outrage as he was passing, nor on the other hand was any injury offered to them: for notwithstanding such proceedings in more civilized nations rarely happen, and are justly esteemed mutiny and treason; yet in Indostan they are common accidents, and arise from such causes as render it difficult to ascertain whether the prince or his army is most in fault. The Nabob had certainly no money to pay his troops; so far from it that the English had now for two years furnished all the expence of their own troops in the field: but it is a maxim with every prince in India, let his wealth be ever so great, to keep his army in long arrears, for fear they should desert. This apprehension is perhaps not unjustly entertained of hirelings collected from every part of a despotick empire, and insensible of notions of attachment to the prince or cause they serve; but from hence the soldiery, accustomed to excuses when dictated by no necessity, give no credit to those which are made to them, when there is a real impossibility of satisfying their demands; and a practice common to most of the princes of Indostan, concurs not a little to increase this mistrust in all who serve them: for on the one hand the vain notions in which they have been educated inspire them with such a love of outward shew, and the inervating climate in which they are born renders them so incapable of resisting the impulses of fancy; and on the other the frequent reverses of fortune in this empire dictate so strongly the necessity of hoarding resources against the hour of calamity, that nothing is more common than to see a Nabob purchasing a jewel or ornament of great price, at the very time that he is in the greatest distress for money to answer the necessities of the government. Hence, instead of being shocked at the clamours of their soldiery, they are accustomed to live in expectation of them, and it is a maxim in their conduct to hear them with patience, unless the croud proceed to violence; but in order to prevent this they take care to attach to their interests some principal officers, with such a number of the best troops as may serve on emergency to check the tumult, which is rarely headed by a man of distinction. But when his

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1753 his affairs become desperate by the success of a superior enemy, the prince atones severely for his evasions, by a total defection of his army, or by suffering such outrages as the Nabob Mahomed-ally would in all probability have been exposed to, had he not been rescued in the manner we have described.

As soon as the Nabob arrived in the camp, major Lawrence began his march, and in order to avoid the enemy's cavalry struck into the thick woods, which skirt the plain of Tritchinopoly to the south: the approach of the army seemed to determine the king of Tanjore to furnish the assistance they were coming to demand; and not to give him any unnecessary umbrage by proceeding abruptly to his capital, the Major resolved to halt for some time at a distance, and encamped at Conandercoil, a town in the woods half-way between Tritchinopoly and Tanjore; where, at the expiration of ten days, he received advice from Mr. Palk, who had been deputed to the king, that he had prevailed upon him to declare openly, and that orders were given to Monac-gee the general to assemble the Tanjorine troops. On which the English army proceeded to Tanjore, where it was determined to remain until they were joined by the reinforcement expected from Fort St. David.

Of all the Nabob's cavalry, no more than fifty accompanied him, the rest remained encamped under the walls of Tritchinopoly, and a few days after the departure of the English army went in a body, and informed captain Dalton that they intended to go over to the enemy, with whom they had made their terms, desiring at the same time that he would not fire upon them as they were marching off. This, as he was very glad to get rid of such a dangerous incumbrance, he readily promised, and they went away unmolested at noon-day.

The enemy, having now no other immediate object, gave their whole attention to blocade the city, which they were in a condition to effect without much difficulty; for their superiority in Europeans deterred the garrison from venturing without the walls to interrupt their night patroles, as was their custom when they had only the Mysoreans and Morattoes to encounter. However captain Dalton took the precaution of undermining in a dark night the posts of Warriore and Weycondah, to the west of the city; the defences of Warriore were ruined, but the explosion failed at Weycondah.

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The late supplies of provisions being entirely reserved for the use 1753
of the garrison, the inhabitants were left to provide for themselves, and rice was now sold in the market for half a crown the measure, about an English quart, which was fifteen times dearer than the common price ; and fire-wood was scarcely to be procured at any rate. This scarcity soon obliged them to quit their habitations, and in less than a month this spacious city, which had formerly contained 400,000 persons, was left almost desolate ; for the military people who remained in it, soldiers and artificers of all denominations, did not exceed 2000 men ; of these the Nabob's Peons, as being capable of no other service than to give an alarm, were posted between the outward and inward wall ; their number was about 1000 : the Sepoys, 600, were stationed round the ramparts, and the Europeans about 200, were appointed, some to guard the gates, whilst the rest lay on their arms every night, in readiness to march to any quarter where the alarm might be given.

Vigilance supplied as much as possible the defect of numbers ; nevertheless it was visible that the city, thus slenderly garrisoned, would run great risque if the enemy attempted a vigorous assault by night ; nor were they entirely without such intentions ; for the French prepared scaling ladders, and often sent parties to sound the depth of the ditch ; but these were always discovered and beaten off before they could accomplish their design. In the mean time Mr. Dupleix strenuously importuned Mr. Brenier, who had succeeded Mr. Astruc in the command, to attempt an escalade at all events, and suggested to him a method of getting the information he wanted by sending one De Cattans an intelligent officer, as a deserter, into the town : the man was promised the command of a company, and thirty thousand rupees ; for which he not only undertook to find out the proper spot where they should place their scaling ladders, but also to maintain a correspondence with the French prisoners, who were to break loose, and seize the arms of the guard, and attack the quarters of the English whilst the assault was made on the walls. He was admitted into the city, and said, that he came to offer his service to the English, being disgusted by an unjust censure, which had been cast on his conduct in the late battle at the golden rock ; an over-strained affectation

1753 of frankness in his behaviour gave captain Dalton some suspicions, and two spies were set to watch his actions, who at different times discovered him measuring the calibre of the gun, taking a survey of the works, and fathoming the height of the wall with a lead and line, after which he threw notes through the windows to the French prisoners. There was in the garrison a French soldier whose fidelity to the English might be depended on; this man engaged to detect his countryman still more effectually, and suffered himself to be chastized in his sight by captain Dalton for some pretended neglect; after which he affected such a resentment for this treatment, that De Cattans gave him his entire confidence, offering him a great reward if he would assist in the execution of his plan. The soldier said he was not made for great enterprises, but offered to desert the first night he should be on guard at the barrier, and to carry a letter, provided De Cattans would assure him of pardon for having deserted from the French. This the other readily agreed to, and gave him a pardon in form signed with his name, to which he added the tittle "of plenipotentiary of the marquis Dupleix." At the same time he delivered to him a letter for Mr. Brenier, which contained a full and exact description of the defences of the place, and some commendations on his own address in deceiving the English commandant, whom he described as a very young man, that placed more confidence in him than any of his own officers. The soldier carried the letter to captain Dalton, who immediately caused De Cattans to be arrested; at first he denied the fact, but on seeing his own writing, desired that he might not suffer the disgrace of being hanged, but have the honour of being shot by a file of musketeers. He was told that his fate could not be decided before major Lawrence arrived; captain Dalton, however, desirous of drawing the enemy into a snare by the same means which they had employed against himself, promised the criminal to intercede for his pardon, provided he would write a letter to Mr. Brenier, and prevail upon him to attempt an escalade at such a part as he, captain Dalton, should dictate; this De Cattans readily agreed to; the place fixed upon was Dalton's battery, on the west side, not far from the northern angle, as being more accessible than any other from without; but the defences and retrenchments within

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were stronger than any where else. A black fellow undertook to 1753
carry the letter for eight rupees, and Mr. Brenier, giving him twenty, sent him back with a letter to De Cattans, promising to put his plan into execution, and desiring him to write frequently. In vain did the garrison watch several nights successively, hoping that the enemy would make the assault; but the various reports which they received of major Lawrence's arrival, kept them in such a continual bustle and alarm, that they could not spare a night for the execution of this enterprize, notwithstanding they appeared convinced of its practicability.

The Mysoreans finding that the explosion made at Weycondah, had done little damage, took possession of this post, and mounting two small pieces of cannon on the rampart, encamped 300 horse and some Peons under the walls; and as the garrison of Tritchinopoly had not lately ventured into the field, those troops slept in perfect security without a single centinel. Captain Dalton receiving intelligence of their negligence, resolved to beat up their quarters, and chusing a time when it was very dark, a party of 400 men, mostly Sepoys, marched up close to the tents, and made a general discharge amongst them before they were once challenged. The Sepoys got some horses and arms, and the whole party retreated out of reach before the enemy were sufficiently rouzed to do more than fire a few shot at random.

At length, after remaining a month closely blockaded, and obliged to be continually on their guard, the garrison received advice that the Major was approaching; he was joined by the Tanjorine army, consisting of 3000 horse, and 2000 matchlocks, under the command of Monac-gee, as also by the expected reinforcement from Fort St. David, of 170 Europeans and 300 Sepoys. On the 7th of August, the army arrived at Dalaway's choultry, situated close to the southern bank of the Caveri, six miles east of Tritchinopoly, where they were detained the next day by the falling of a heavy rain, which rendered the country between the choultry and city impassable. This obliged them to strike to the south-west, and the 9th in the morning they continued their march, escorting a convoy of several thousand bullocks provided by the Nabob, and said to be laden with provisions; signals

1753 from the top of the rock in Tritchinopoly, not only apprized them that the enemy were in motion, but likewise pointed out the dispositions they were making. Their cavalry in different parties extended from the French rock to the golden rock: at the sugar-loaf rock, as being the place where major Lawrence would first come within their reach, they kept their main body of Europeans and Sepoys, together with their artillery; and a detachment took possession of the golden rock. The major, when arrived about a mile south-east of the sugar-loaf, halted, and having considered the enemy's disposition, formed and ordered his march in consequence of it. To preserve the baggage and provisions from the enemy's fire, he determined not to attempt a passage through the posts they occupied; but to march round the golden rock, whilst the convoy with the Nabob and his retinue, escorted by the Tanjorine troops, moved on at some distance on the left flank of the Europeans and Sepoys. It was necessary at all events to drive the enemy, from the golden rock, since their fire from hence might greatly incommode the line of march: but as a suspicion of the major's intention to pass that way, would naturally induce them to reinforce this post, he resolved to divert their attention, by halting, and forming as if he intended to march directly, and attack their main body at the sugar-loaf rock. This stratagem had the desired effect: monsieur Brenier, not an acute officer, recalled the greatest part of his detachment from the golden rock, and with much bustle got his troops in order, to receive the major: who in the mean time detached the grenadiers and 800 Sepoys from the front of the line, ordering them to defile behind the convoy which still proceeded on, and to march with all possible expedition and attack the golden rock. Mr. Brenier did not perceive this motion before it was too late to prevent the effect of it; he however instantly sent forward 1000 horse at full gallop to intercept the English party, and at the same time detached 300 Europeans to reinforce the guard at the rock. The cavalry soon came up with the English party, and endeavoured to retard their march by caracolling and gallopping about as if they intended to charge: but the grenadiers did not suffer themselves to be amused by these motions, and fired hotly upon them without slackening their pace, nor made a halt until they had mounted the

the rock, drove the enemy down, and planted their colours on the top, which they accomplished before the enemy's party of infantry, marching from the sugar loaf rock, had got half way : who seeing the post they were sent to reinforce lost, had not the heart to make a push to recover it ; but halted, and taking shelter behind a bank, began to cannonade the grenadiers and Sepoys at the golden rock with four field pieces. By this time Mr. Brenier, with the rest of the French troops, had proceeded a little way from the sugar loaf rock, to support his advanced party ; but seeing them halt, he halted likewise. So that the main body of the English troops continued their march, and secured the possession of the golden rock without interruption : the Tanjorines soon after came up with the baggage, and were ordered to remain with it in the rear. The English artillery were now warmly employed against the cannon of the enemy's advanced party, of whom none but the artillery men were exposed, for the rest kept close behind the bank. The English battalion was drawn up in the open plain without shelter, and in this situation suffered considerably, whilst their artillery did little mischief to the enemy ; however the shot that flew over the bank went amongst a large body of horse who were drawn up in the rear of the advanced party, and flung them into confusion ; which captain Dalton observing, he sallied from the city with two field pieces, and the cavalry finding themselves between two fires, hurried out of reach, some to the east, and others to the west. In the mean time several of the English battalion were struck down, and major Lawrence observing that the enemy's main body made no motion to join the advanced party, determined to make a push, and drive these troops from the advantageous ground of which they had taken possession. The grenadiers, with 200 more Europeans, and 300 Sepoys, were ordered to march and attack them, whilst major Lawrence remained at the golden rock with the rest ready to support them if repulsed, or if successful, to join and pursue the advantage by driving the beaten party on the enemy's main body. The success of this attempt depending in a great measure on making the attack before the enemy's main body could move up to the succour of their party, the English for more expedition marched without any field pieces ; but the artillery was notwithstanding not idle, for

1753

1753 for they fired continually from the main body to deter the enemy's cavalry from attacking the flanks of the party as they marched. The officer appointed to lead the attack, instead of following his orders, which directed him to come to the push of bayonet without hesitation, sent word that he could not execute them without artillery, and that he was halted, waiting for it. Upon this major Lawrence instantly quitted the main body, and galloping up, put himself at the head of the party, and led them on. The troops, animated by his example, marched on with great spirit, keeping their order, notwithstanding they were galled by a very smart fire from the enemy's artillery, which killed several men, and amongst them, captain Kirk, at the head of the grenadiers : these brave fellows, whom nothing during the war had ever staggered, could not see the death of the officer they loved without emotion. Captain Kilpatrick seeing them at a stand, immediately put himself at their head, and desired them, if they loved their captain as much as he valued his friend, to follow him, and revenge his death : roused in an instant by this spirited exhortation and example, they swore in their manner, that they would follow him to hell. In this temper they pushed on ; and in order to prevent the enemy from retreating to their main body, marched to gain their right flank : the enemy had not courage to stand the shock, but quitted the bank in great precipitation, and leaving three field pieces behind, them, ran away towards Weycondah, exposed great part of the way to the fire of the two field pieces which captain Dalton had brought out of the city, every shot of which, for several discharges, took off two or three men. The enemy's main body now, when too late, began to move to the assistance of their party, but seeing them irretrievably defeated, and perceiving at the same time the main body of the English advancing from the golden rock, they lost courage, and without waiting to give or receive a fire, ran off in great confusion towards the five rocks, exposed to a severe cannonade from the rear division of the English artillery which had been left at the golden rock with the baggage ; the Tanjore horse remained spectators of their flight without taking advantage of it, by falling on them sword in hand, which if they had done, few would have escaped ; so that the loss which they sustained in Europeans did not exceed 100 men killed and

and wounded: of the English battalion about 40 men were either killed or disabled, and on both sides, principally by cannon shot. 1753

Monac-gee endeavoured to excuse his neglect, by alledging that the solicitude of the Nabob and his commissaries for the safety of the convoy, made him unwilling to leave it exposed to the enemy's cavalry which hovered round in large bodies: but this was no good reason; for major Lawrence immediately on the enemy's retreat sent him orders to pursue, and the battalion were marching back to secure the convoy. As soon as the enemy were out of sight, the army with the convoy proceeded to the city, where on taking an account of the provisions before they were lodged in the magazines, it was found that the quantity did not exceed 300 bullock loads, and this not a little damaged: which, in weight not being more than 30,000 pounds, was scarcely sufficient to supply the Europeans and Sepoys ten days. It would be difficult to find an example of so great a negligence, in so essential a service, which had cost so much pains and risque, excepting in the irregular and indolent administration of a Moorish government in Indostan; and indeed the English themselves were much to blame for trusting this important charge entirely to the conduct of the Nabob and his officers, who had loaded the rest of the bullocks, for there were near 4000, with their own baggage, and a heap of trumpery not worth the carriage.

The enemy removed their tents and baggage as soon as it was dark from the sugar-loaf rock to Weycondah, where they encamped all together in so strong a situation, protected by the fire of that post, that they could not be attacked with any prospect of success. The Mysoreans had always drawn their provisions from their own country; and as there was little probability of procuring plenty to the city whilst the enemy remained on the plain, the major, as soon as the troops were a little refreshed, marched out, and taking a circuit encamped at the five rocks, intending to intercept their convoys coming from the eastward, and thus retaliate the distresses which they had so often brought upon his army. At the same time Monac-gee, in order to secure the communication with Tanjore, undertook to reduce Elimiserum, where the enemy had left a garrison of 200 Sepoys and a few Europeans, who submitted to him after a little resistance.

Major

1753 Major Lawrence now ordered De Cattans to be hanged in sight of the enemy's advanced guards: he died with great resolution, but shewed much concern that he had endeavoured to betray captain Dalton, who had received him with so much hospitality and kindness. As the English had condescended to employ this delinquent against his own countrymen, after he was detected, his life ought to have been spared.

The enemy still remaining at Weycondah, major Lawrence made a motion towards them on the 23d, upon which they decamped in a hurry, and leaving part of their baggage, with a gun and some ammunition behind, made a disorderly retreat to Mootachellinoor, a strong post on the bank of the Caveri, which secured their communication with Seringham: the next day major Lawrence took possession of the ground they had abandoned with an intention to send forward some artillery near enough to cannonade them; but this design was unexpectedly frustrated, for the next day a reinforcement, equal to the whole of the English force, appeared on the bank of the Coleroon. It consisted of 3000 Morattoes, a great number of Peons, and some Topasses under the command of Morari-row, together with 400 Europeans, and 2000 Sepoys, with six guns.

Most of these Europeans arrived in the end of June from the island of Mauritius, where they had been disciplined; and Mr. Dupleix committed a great error in not sending them immediately, together with Morari-row's troops, to Tritchinopoly; more especially as the signal defeat of the French and Mysoreans at the golden rock might have convinced him that they would hardly be able to prevent the English, when reinforced by the troops of Tanjore, from making their way good to the city with the convoy: but his vanity on this occasion confounded his good sense; for treating the battle of the golden rock as a trifling skirmish, and attributing the ill success of it to some pretended accidents common to the fortune of war, he seemed to disdain sending any farther assistance to an army which he confidently asserted could not fail to overpower their enemies in a very few days; he therefore detained this force to make conquests in the Carnatic; but the wilful disposition of Morari-row frustrated in a great measure this design: for regarding no injunctions excepting those of the Mysorean, who was afraid to give him

him positive orders, the Morattoe traversed the province according to his own inclination, without keeping his force united, or acting in concert with the troops of Pondicherry. However Mr. Dupleix pursuing his plan as well as he was able, detached immediately after the capture of Chillambrum a large body of Sepoys, accompanied by some Morattoes, to attack the pagoda of Verdachelum; this force was led by one Hassan Ally, who had long been commander in chief of the French Sepoys, and had distinguished himself so much in this employment that the French king had honoured him with a gold medal in token of his services; this man was taken at Seringham with Mr. Law, and the English knowing his capacity kept him a close prisoner at Fort St. David; from whence, however, he had lately contrived to escape, being carried through the guards in a basket which they imagined to contain lumber. The garrison of Verdachelum consisted only of 50 Sepoys commanded by a serjeant, who surrendered after a slight resistance; from hence Hassan Ally, joined by 50 Europeans, proceeded to Trinomalee, where they found Morari-row with the greatest part of his force assisting, according to his promise, the troops of Velore, who were laying close siege to the place. The army of the besiegers now amounted to 6000 cavalry, 5000 Sepoys, and 100 Europeans, including the 50 which Mortiz-ally kept in his own pay. The garrison, 1500 men, commanded by Barkatoola, a faithful servant to the Nabob, and a gallant officer, defended themselves with much bravery, making frequent sallies, and in one they surprized and beat up the quarters of the Morattoes, killing many of their horses; this loss, the most sensible that the Morattoes can feel, determined Morari-row to look out for easier conquests; and leaving the Phousdar's troops to continue the siege as they could, he marched away, with an intention to lay siege to Palam Cotah, a fort in the neighbourhood of Chillambrum. Here he was joined by a party of 350 Europeans, who endeavoured to prevail on him to march with them and attack the English settlement of Devi Cotah; but Morari-row, apprehensive of the loss he might suffer in this attempt, refused to accompany them. On this difference they separated, the French marching towards the woods of Wariore-pollam, in hopes of levying contribution from the Polygar; and the Morattoe to Trinomalee. Here, a few days after

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1753 his arrival, he received letters from the regent informing him of his distress, since his convoys from Mysore began to be intercepted, and desiring him in the most pressing terms to move immediately to Seringham with his whole force; and Mr. Dupleix informing him at the same time that he intended to send all the Europeans he could bring into the field, the Morattoe, calling in all his stragglers, hurried back to Chillambrum, which was appointed the place of general rendezvous; from hence the whole reinforcement proceeded by very expeditious marches to Tritchinopoly, in sight of which they arrived on the 24th of August.

Their appearance at so critical a conjuncture did not fail to raise the enemy's spirits, who testified their joy by firing salutes and exhibiting fireworks for three days successively, at the same time making the necessary preparations for coming to the plains again; whilst the English and their allies saw themselves under the necessity of taking their measures to act again on the defensive, under the same disadvantages to which they had been constantly subject, excepting in the short interval since the last defeat of the enemy: but even in this interval they had not been able to get more provisions than sufficed for the daily consumption; for as their force was not sufficient to spare considerable escorts at a distance for the time necessary to collect large supplies, what they received came daily in small quantities, about 100 bullock loads at a time, which indeed had lately joined the camp without much difficulty. But it was evident that the enemy's detachments would not scour the plain again as usual: the Major therefore, to diminish the risk of his convoys coming from the eastward, quitted the neighbourhood of Weycondah as soon as their reinforcement appeared, and encamped on the same ground which he had formerly occupied a little to the north of the Facquire's Tope. The enemy three days after quitted Mootachellinoor, and encamped at the five rocks, where their army covered a great extent of ground, for they had likewise been reinforced from Mysore. From the great superiority of their numbers, the Major expected that they would attack him in his camp, and ordered his men to sleep on their arms; but they contented themselves with following their former plan of intercepting the convoys. And the very next day, the 28th, near 3000 horse, Morattoes and Mysoreans, attacked an escort

scort of 100 Europeans with great vigour ; but the men, accustomed 1753 o such encounters, preserved themselves and the convoy by not parting with their fire, although the enemy rode several times to the very bayonets.

The presidency of Madrass hearing of the reinforcement which Mr. Dupleix had sent to Seringham, determined to strengthen their own army with all the men that could be spared for the field, and sent them in one of the company's ships to Devi Cotah ; and the major, in order to facilitate the junction of these troops, as well as to protect his convoys, determined to encamp farther to the eastward ; and sending off his baggage in the night, marched at day break the first of September over the plain in full view of the enemy, and pitched his camp at a little distance to the south-east of the French rock. This ground was well chosen, for the right flank was protected by some pieces of artillery mounted on the rock, which were flanked by the cannon of the city. The front of the camp was for the most part secured by a morass, and the rear by swamps and rice fields. The Tanjorines were exceedingly delighted with the security in which they here found themselves, for they had before began to droop with apprehensions of having their quarters beat up by the Morattoes ; and Monac-gee exerting all his influence amongst his countrymen, prevailed on the merchants who dealt in rice, to bring frequent supplies of grain, although in small quantities. The enemy's scouts gave them such good intelligence of the approach of the convoys that few escaped unattacked, but being constantly supported by detachments of Europeans, they made their way good to the camp ; not indeed without some loss, since it was impossible in the tumult to prevent the bullocks and cooleys from flinging down their loads and taking flight. However, what arrived was sufficient for the daily wants, but so little more, that if two or three convoys had been cut off, the army would have been obliged to have had recourse to the small stock which was laid up in the city. The enemy, as if determined to reduce them to this distress, moved from the five rocks, and encamped at the sugar loaf, extending from hence to the golden rock. Here the regent and Morari-row having intelligence of the reinforcement of which the English were in expectation, pressingly intreated the French to attack their camp before those troops arrived ; but Mr.

1753 Astruc declined the attempt, and contented himself with waiting for less hazardous opportunities of diminishing their force: at length the English reinforcement arrived on the 19th of September, at Kelli Cotah, a fort 15 miles east of the city: and never perhaps had two armies remained 18 days in so extraordinary a situation, both encamped on the open plain without a bush on it, at about two miles distance from each other, so that with their glasses they could see one another sitting at dinner in their tents; and a cannon shot from the advanced posts might easily reach the opposite camp: but as the swamps in the rear of both the camps did not permit either to move farther back, both refrained from commencing a cannonade; the English desired nothing more than to keep their battalion unimpaired until the arrival of their reinforcement; but for this very reason the French ought to have taken all opportunities of diminishing their number. Major Lawrence now apprehending nothing so much, as that the enemy might send a large detachment to intercept his reinforcement, determined if possible to divert their attention by cannonading their camp; and the day in which the troops were ordered to march from Kelli Cotah, an eighteen pounder, sent from the city, was mounted about half a mile south-west of the French rock, on the bank of the water-course that intersects the plain, and early in the morning the 16th of September, it began to fire smartly; every shot was seen to strike amongst the tents of the French battalion, who after having bore the insult patiently for two hours, detached their three companies of grenadiers with a large body of their allies, horse and foot, to attack the party posted with the eighteen pounder; upon which motion the Major immediately threw a reinforcement into the water course of 250 Europeans, 800 Sepoys, and three field pieces under the command of captain Charles Campbell, who defended it so well that the enemy were obliged to desist from their attempt, and retreat to their camp, not without a considerable loss; for they had bore for some time a smart cannonade from five pieces of cannon upon the south-west cavalier of the city, as well as from the artillery at the watercourse. This repulse, seconded by a continuance of the fire from the 18 pounder, either deterred or diverted them during the rest of the day from giving attention to the reinforcement, who having continued their march without molestation,

joined

joined the camp in the evening. The whole consisted of 237 Europeans, with the captains Ridge and Calliaud, lately arrived from Europe, and 300 Sepoys. The junction of these troops inspired the army with as much joy as the doubtful expectation of their arrival had caused anxiety and solicitude ; and to retaliate on the enemy the same marks of exultation which they had lately employed on a like occasion, the tidings were announced to them by a discharge of all the artillery in the camp and city. 1753

There being now no more reinforcements to expect, and the vicinity of the enemy having greatly augmented the difficulties of getting provisions and fuel, major Lawrence, as soon as the troops just arrived were refreshed, determined to bring on a general battle, which if the enemy declined he resolved to attack them in their camp.

The tents and baggage were sent at night to remain under cover of the artillery of the city ; from whence at the same time 100 Europeans, all who could be spared from the garrison, marched out and joined the army. Every thing being prepared, major Lawrence quitted the ground near the French rock, and at day break, the 20th of September, the army appeared at the Facquire's Tope, and remained for some hours drawn up, offering the enemy battle ; but they shewing no inclination to accept the defiance, the Major sent for his tents again, and encamped on the spot on which he was drawn up, resolving to attack their camp the next day : as the success of this hardy enterprize depended greatly on preventing the enemy from entertaining any suspicion of his intention, he cannonaded their camp, with an eighteen pounder, at different intervals during the rest of the day ; hoping to make them believe that he purposed nothing more than to harrass and incommode them. At night the tents were struck, and sent back again towards the city, and the whole army was ordered, after taking their rest in the open field, to be under arms at four in the morning.

The enemy's camp extended on each side of the sugar-loaf rock, but much farther to the west than to the east : most of the Morattoes were encamped on the east, the French quarters were close to the west of the rock, and beyond these the Mysoreans extended almost as far as the golden rock, occupying the ground for a considerable way behind the two rocks. The rear of the camp was covered with

thickets

1753 thickets and rocky ground. The French had flung up an intrenchment in front of their own quarters, and intended to have continued it along the left flank, facing the west; but on this side had only finished a small part, separated about 300 yards from the western extremity of their intrenchment in front, which interval was left open without defences: the Morattoes had likewise flung up an intrenchment in their front to the east of the sugar-loaf: at the golden rock, which commanded the left flank and the front of the ground on which the Mysoreans were encamped, the French had stationed an advanced guard of 100 Europeans, two companies of Topasses, and 600 Sepoys, with two pieces of cannon, under the command of a partizan of some reputation. Major Lawrence being apprized of these dispositions, projected his attack to take the utmost advantage of them. At the hour appointed the army quitted the Facquire's Tope, and marched in profound silence towards the golden rock: the battalion consisting of 600 men formed the van in three equal divisions; the first was composed of the grenadier company of 100 men commanded by captain Kilpatrick, the picket of 40, by captain Calliaud, and two platoons, each of 30 men, under the command of captain Charles Campbell: the artillery, six field pieces, with 100 artillery men, were divided on the flanks of each division: 2000 Sepoys, in two lines, followed the Europeans: the Tanjorine cavalry were ordered to extend to the eastward, and to march even with the last line of Sepoys. The moon had hitherto been very bright; but a sudden cloud now obscured it so much, that the first division of the battalion came within pistol shot of the golden rock before they were discovered; and giving a very smart fire, mounted it in three places at once, whilst the enemy, who had barely time to snatch up their arms, hurried down after making one irregular discharge, and ran away to the camp with such precipitation, that they left their two field pieces, ready loaded with grape, undischarged. Animated by this success, the men called out with one voice to be led on to the grand camp, and the Major availing himself of their alacrity, remained no longer at the rock than was necessary to break the carriages of the enemy's guns, and to form his troops again. Their disposition was now changed, the three divisions of Europeans were ordered to march, as near as they

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could, in one line in front through the camp of the Mysoreans, in 1753
order to fall at once upon the left flank of the French quarters: the Sepoys were divided on each flank of the battalion, but at some distance in the rear. Had the camp, like those in Europe, been covered with tents, it would have been impossible to have penetrated through it in this order; but in an Indian army none but the men of rank can afford the expence of a tent, and the rest shelter themselves as they can in cabbins made of mats, so slight that they may be pushed down by the hand. The Tanjorine cavalry, intermixed with matchlocks and peons, had halted during the attack of the golden rock, on the plain nearly opposite to the front of the French intrenchment, and they were now instructed to move directly up to it, in order to create what confusion they could with their fire arms and rockets. The battalion received the orders for continuing the march with loud huzza's, and the whole proceeded with the greatest confidence, as to a victory of which they were sure; the drums of the three divisions beating the grenadiers march, the gunners with their portfires lighted on the flanks, and the Sepoys sounding with no little energy all their various instruments of military music. This did not a little contribute to augment the consternation which the fugitives from the rock had spread amongst the Mysoreans, who were already taking flight, when the English entered their camp. The Europeans marched with fixed bayonets, and recovered arms, but the Sepoys kept up a smart fire upon the swarms that were taking flight on all sides. The French discovered by the fugitives which way the attack would fall, and drew up to oppose it, facing the west; the left of their battalion was behind the finished but detached part of their intrenchment on this side; and the rest extended towards the intrenchment they had thrown up in front of their camp; which their line, however did not reach by 100 yards; but a bank running at this distance parallel to that intrenchment, served to defend the right flank of their battalion: in this position they derived no advantage from that part of their works on which they had most depended. To the left of their battalion was a body of 2000 Sepoys, who inclined to the left, intending to gain the flank of the English battalion, and the same number were designed to form their right wing; but these, by some mistake, in this scene of hurry

1753 hurry and confusion, posted themselves on the sugar-loaf rock. The English troops advancing were prevented by the interruptions which they met with in the Mysore camp from keeping up in a line; so that the first division had outmarched the second, and the second the third; however as soon as they came nigh the enemy, whom they discovered by the portfires of their guns, the hindermost quickened their pace; but nevertheless the whole line was not completely formed before they came within twenty yards of the enemy, by which time the Sepoys to the right had advanced from the rear, in order to oppose those on the enemy's left: the artillery in the hurry could not keep up with the battalion. The French artillery had for some time fired with great vivacity, but most of the shot flew too high, and killed several of the flying Mysoreans. The action commenced just as the day began to dawn: Mr. Astruc, with indefatigable activity prevailed on his men to wait and receive the English fire before they gave theirs: amongst those who suffered in this onset was captain Kilpatrick, who commanded the division on the right; he fell desperately wounded; upon which captain Calliaud put himself at the head of the grenadiers, and took the command of the whole division; the French Sepoys on the left scarcely stood the first fire of the right wing of the English Sepoys, but took flight: which captain Calliaud perceiving, he wheeled instantly round with his division, and gaining the left flank of the intrenchment, behind which the left of the French battalion was posted, poured in a close fire upon them; and the grenadiers pushing on with their bayonets, drove them crowding upon their center: the whole line was already falling into confusion, when a well-levelled discharge from the center and left of the English battalion in front compleated the route, and they ran away in great disorder to gain the other side of the bank on their right, where Mr. Astruc endeavoured to rally them: but the grenadiers pursuing them closely, renewed the attack with their bayonets, and put them again to flight: every man now provided for his own safety, without any regard to order, running towards the golden rock, as this way was the only outlet not obstructed; but as soon as they got to some distance on the plain they dispersed and took various routes. The left wing of the English Seapoys had hitherto taken no share in the engagement, for by keeping

keeping too much to the left of the battalion, they came to the outside of the French intrenchment, on the ground to which the Tanjorines were ordered to advance ; however, as soon as they perceived the French battalion in confusion, they pushed on to the sugar-loaf rock, and with much resolution attacked and dispersed the body of the enemy's Sepoys posted there, who from the beginning of the action had employed themselves in firing random shot indiscriminately upon friends and foes. The victory was now decided, and the English troops drew up on the French parade. A body of Morattoes were the only part of the Indian army which made any motions to draw off the attention of the English during the engagement ; they seeing one of the field pieces left with a few men at a distance behind the rest, galloped up, and cutting down the men, got possession of it ; but perceiving the battle lost, they did not venture to carry it off : nevertheless they did not immediately quit the camp, where they were soon after joined by several other bodies of cavalry, encouraged by their example : but the English artillery in a few rounds obliged them to retire again, and they followed the rest of the fugitives, who were retreating towards Seringham by the pass of Mootachillinoor. It was some hours before the whole got into the island, for the throng consisted of 30,000 men of all sorts on foot, and 10,000 horse, besides a great number of oxen, camels, and elephants. The Tanjorines were ordered to set out in pursuit of the French troops, who were taking flight, dispersed on all sides over the plain ; but they could not be prevailed on to quit the spoil of the camp, which they were very busy in plundering. 1753

The tents, baggage, and ammunition of the French camp, together with eleven pieces of cannon, one an eighteen pounder, were taken ; 100 of their battalion were either killed or wounded, and near 100 more, amongst whom was Mr. Astruc, with ten officers, were made prisoners : several were afterwards knocked on the head by the people of Tondiman's woods, 65 were taken straggling in the Tanjore country ; and a detachment of Sepoys, sent out by captain Dalton from the city, brought in 21 of those who were making their way to the island by the pass of Chucklypolam : so that the whole of their loss was at least 300 Europeans, with their best officer ; for such un-

 doubtedly

1753 doubtedly was Mr. Astruc: it might have been much more, had the Tanjorines exerted themselves as they were ordered. Of the English about 40 Europeans were killed and wounded.

This action was decided entirely by the musketry; for the English artillery were not brought into the engagement; and the French cannon were ill pointed, and irresolutely served, even before the conflict became hot and general; after which the event could not remain long in suspence between two bodies of men, whose dead fell within 20 yards of each other. There are few instances of a victory in which the sagacity and spirit of the general, as well as the resolution of the troops, are more to be admired. The French themselves confessed that they had no suspicion of the intentions to attack them; nor did chance interfere to substract from the merit of this success: for major Lawrence, before he quitted his camp at the French rock, had predicted most of the events which concurred to produce it. The Nabob's standard was now planted in the enemy's camp; and the English flag, displayed on the top of the sugar-loaf rock, proclaimed the triumph of their arms to the country several miles round.

The Tanjorines, elated to excess, although they had contributed nothing more than their appearance in the field to gain the victory, proposed, immediately after the battle, to follow the enemy, and besiege them in Seringham; but major Lawrence paying no attention to this rhodomontade, moved with the army in the evening to lay siege to Weycondah.

This place, now a fort, was originally nothing more than a pagoda and choultry, situated at the top of a rock about 30 feet high. The rock was afterwards inclosed by a square stone wall, carried up as high as the top of the rock itself, and built thick enough to afford a rampart about five feet in breadth, besides a slender parapet, which has loop-holes to fire through: on the western side is a gateway, of which the top communicates with the rampart on either hand: the enemy's garrison consisted chiefly of Sepoys. A watercourse served instead of a trench to shelter the English troops; who having cut embrasures through the bank about 400 yards from the wall, battered it with two eighteen pounders, and at the same time threw shells from a mortar and two cohorns. By the next evening the wall was

beaten down, within 12 feet of the ground. Early the next morning some of the garrison endeavoured to make their escape, through a sally-port on the north, to a large body of horse, who were waiting at a distance to receive them: these fugitives were discovered by some of the English Sepoys on the right, who immediately ran to prevent any more from getting out; and at the same time 600 other Sepoys, who were under arms in the watercourse, set out of their own accord, without well knowing what was the matter, and ran directly to the breach, regardless of the commands of their officers, who assured them that it was not yet practicable; but nothing could stop the tumult: they made several ineffectual attempts to mount the breach, notwithstanding they were warmly fired upon by the enemy from above. At length, finding it impracticable to succeed this way, they all ran to the gate, which some endeavoured to force, whilst others fired up, to drive the defenders from the ramparts: but this attempt likewise proving ineffectual, a resolute Englishman, serjeant to a company of Sepoys, mounted on the shoulders of one of them, and getting hold of some of the carved work of the gateway, clambered up to the top; and those below handing up to him the colours of his company, he planted them singly on the parapet: here he was soon joined by about 20 of his company, who followed his example; and whilst some of these were engaged with the enemy, others went down on the inside of the rampart, and opened the gate. Those without instantly rushed in like a torrent; which the enemy perceiving, they hurried down from the rampart, and ran up the steps, to gain the choultry and pagoda at the top of the rock: but the English Sepoys followed them so closely, that they had not time to make any dispositions to defend themselves there before they were attacked at the push of bayonet: in the first fury several were killed; but the rest, about 400, flinging down their arms and calling for quarter, were spared. 1753

From Weycondah the army removed, and encamped at the French Rock, where they now abounded in as much plenty as they had hitherto suffered distress; for none of the enemy's parties ventured on the plain, and the country people, no longer terrified by the apprehension of losing their noses, brought in provisions in such abundance, that rice, which three days before was sold at four measures for the rupee

1753 now sold at sixteen; and at this rate a stock was laid in sufficient to supply the garrison for six months at full allowance. Captain Dalton seeing this object of the general sollicitude provided for, and the city in all other respects out of danger, quitted the command of Tritchinopoly, and some time after returned to Europe.

The approach of the rainy monsoon in the middle of October made it necessary to carry the troops into cantonment: the city itself would certainly have afforded them the best shelter: but the stock of provisions laid up for the use of the garrison would soon have been consumed by the addition of such a number of mouths: and as little danger was to be apprehended from any attempts which the enemy might make during the absence of the army, provided the garrison were commonly vigilant, major Lawrence preferred to remove to Coiladdy, on the frontiers of Tanjore, from whence the wants of the army might constantly be supplied, without the necessity of fatiguing the troops by employing them to escort convoys. Four hundred Sepoys and the sick of the battalion, with 150 Europeans, were sent into Tritchinopoly, to augment the garrison; a detachment was left to defend Elimiserum; and the rest of the English troops marched on the 23d of October to their winter quarters: they were accompanied by the Nabob, with the few troops he commanded; but the Tanjorines quitted them, and proceeded to their capital, in order to be present at the celebration of a great festival which falls out at this time of the year. It was with great reluctance that major Lawrence saw them depart, judging from experience, that nothing but the last necessity would induce the king to send them back, notwithstanding that he promised, with much seeming complacence, that they should take the field, and rejoin the Nabob, as soon as the monsoon was past.

During these transactions to the south of the Coleroon, the English arms had likewise gained some successes in the Carnatic. The retreat of Morari-row from before Trinomalee increased the courage of the garrison, who signalized themselves so much by frequent and vigorous sallies, that the presidency of Madrass determined to send a reinforcement to their assistance; and 500 Sepoys detached from the garrison of Arcot, arrived in the middle of September in sight of the place: but finding all the avenues blockaded, they concerted measures

measures with the governor, Berkatoola, to favour their junction, by 1753 making a general sally, on a certain quarter of the enemy's camp, which the Sepoys promised to attack at the same time in the rear. This plan was executed with so much vigour, that notwithstanding the enemy took the alarm time enough to bring the greatest part of their troops into action, they were entirely defeated: the general of the Velore troops being killed on the spot, and Hussan-ally, the commander of the French Sepoys, taken prisoner mortally wounded. This loss of their commanders struck the army with so much consternation, that they immediately raised the siege.

In the same month the presidency were much alarmed by the attempts of Mahomed Comaul, the most considerable of the adventurers, who in these times of confusion set up the standard of independency. This man commanded a body of horse at the siege of Arcot; and after the army of Raja-saheb was dispersed by the battle of Covrepauk, kept together his own troops, and immediately levied contributions not only sufficient to attach them to his service, but also to engage others to inlist under his banner: however, alarmed by the fate of Chunda-saheb at Seringham, he judiciously determined to remove out of the reach of danger into the country of Neloor, the north-east part of the Nabob's dominions, not doubting that its distance both from Arcot and Madrass would enable him to establish himself in those districts: he succeeded even beyond his expectation, for he found means to surprize the capital of Neloor itself, from whence he obliged Nazeabulla, the governor, to flee to Arcot. The English and the Nabob had so many enemies to fight, and so few troops to send into the field, that they could spare none to check the enterprizes of Mahomed Comaul, who having enjoyed the fruits of his successes without interruption for a year, extended his views, and prepared to attack the pagoda of Tripetti. This temple, one of the most famous in the Decan, is situated on the top of a mountain, about fifty miles north-east of Arcot. The feast of the god to whom it is dedicated is annually celebrated in the month of September, and the offerings made by the concourse of pilgrims who arrive from all parts to assist at it, amount to so great a sum, that the Bramins, beside what they reserve to themselves, pay the government an annual revenue

1753 revenue of 60,000 pagodas, or 24,000 pounds sterling. This revenue the Nabob assigned over to the English as a reimbursement in part of the great expences they had incurred in the war; and as neither the Bramins nor the pilgrims are sollicitous to whom this money is paid, provided the feast goes on without interruption, it was the intention of Mahomed Comaul to get possession of the pagoda before the feast began. The presidency of Madrass, alarmed for the safety of a place in which the company was so much interested, sent a detachment of forty Europeans, two companies of Sepoys, and three pieces of cannon, with orders to march and defend the pagoda: they were to be joined on the road by Nazeabulla, the Nabob's brother, at the head of a large body of troops, but these not coming up in time, the detachment proceeded without them. When arrived near Tripetti they were unexpectedly surrounded by the whole of Mahomed Comaul's force, 5000 men, horse and foot; the detachment had just time to take shelter in a neighbouring village, where the enemy immediately attacked them, and although constantly repulsed, they did not desist from their attempts before the night set in; when the detachment having lost several of their Europeans, and expended all their ammunition, retreated; the next day they were joined by Nazeabulla Cawn's army, with whom the day afterwards they proceeded again towards Tripetti. Mahomed Comaul met them on the plain, and the action began by a cannonade, which having created some confusion amongst the enemy, ensign Holt, who commanded the English detachment, marched up with his Europeans and Sepoys to improve the advantage; but before they came near enough to give their fire, a shot from a wall-piece killed ensign Holt. However the men, not disconcerted by this accident, pushed on under the command of their next officer, ensign Ogilby, and attacked the enemy with great vivacity, who were already wavering, when a lucky shot from one of the field pieces killed the elephant of Mahomed Comaul. His army seeing the standard of their general fall to the ground, as usual took flight, and with so much precipitation, that before he had time to mount a horse, they left him at the mercy of his enemies. He was taken prisoner and carried to Nazeabulla Cawn, by whose order he was instantly beheaded. His death removed the most dangerous disturber

disturber of the Nabob's government in this part of the country, for 1753
he was a very brave and active man ; there were several other chiefs of less consequence, who were constantly making inroads into the districts of Ponomalee, Chinglapett, and Arcot, and gave frequent employment to the garrisons of these places ; but they always retreated as soon as they heard that a detachment of Europeans was marching against them.

The enemy at Seringham seemed so little inclinable to take advantage of the absence of the English troops cantoned at Coiladdy, that they did not even send parties on the plain to prevent the country people from going daily with provisions to the market in Tritchinopoly where the garrison were as well supplied and lived in as much tranquillity as if both sides had agreed in form to a cessation of hostilities : the enemy, however, convinced that the English would never have attempted to attack their camp at the sugar-loaf rock if they had not been joined by the cavalry of Tanjore, determined to leave no means untried to deprive them of this resource in future. Accordingly the regent gave Succo-gee, the king's minister and favourite, a sum of money more considerable than the first bribe, and Mr. Dupleix sent a letter penned in the Malabar language by his wife, in which he threatened the king, that if he dared to give the Nabob and the English any more assistance, the Morattoes should lay waste his country with fire and sword, and that if this should not be sufficient to terrify him into a neutrality, he would bring down the Soubah Salabad-jing, with his whole army, from Golconda. The effect of these practices, both on the king and his minister, was soon visible ; for Succo-gee taking advantage of the timorous and suspicious character of his master, prevailed on him to remove the general Monac-gee from the command of the army, by representing him as a man in such close connexion with the English, that he might probably, from a reliance on their friendship, be induced to form projects dangerous even to the king himself ; who, alarmed at the same time by the menaces of Dupleix, determined to preserve his country by breaking the promise he had made to the Nabob and major Lawrence, to send his troops to Coiladdy as soon as the rains were over. Having brought him thus far, the next step was to make him join the enemy ; this likewise

1753 likewise Succo-gee undertook to effect, and the king it is said was on the point of signing the treaty, when a sudden and unexpected event stopped his hand.

In the beginning of November the French at Seringham received a reinforcement of 300 Europeans, 200 Topasses, and 1000 Sepoys, with some cannon ; but instead of giving any signs that they had recovered their spirits by this increase of their strength, they determined to remain quiet until major Lawrence should be ready to quit Coiladdy, in hopes that the garrison of Tritchinopoly would be lulled into security by seeing them remain inactive so long after the arrival of their reinforcement, and entertain no suspicion of the design they were meditating, when the time should come for carrying it into execution.

This design was nothing less than to storm the city of Tritchinopoly in the night by surprize. The part which the French chose to make the assault upon was Dalton's battery, on the west side, near the north-west angle of the town, the same indicated by the letter which captain Dalton had prevailed on the spy De Cattans to write to the French commander Mr. Brenier ; it had formerly been a part of one of the four gateways to this city. The entrance into an Indian fortification is through a large and complicated pile of building, projecting in the form of a paralelogram from the main rampart ; and if the city has two walls, it projects beyond them both : this building consists of several continued terrasses which are of the same height as the main rampart and communicate with it : the inward walls of these terrasses form the sides of an intricate passage, about twenty feet broad, which leads by various short turnings at right angles through the whole pile, to the principal gate that stands in the main rampart : for some space on each hand of Dalton's battery, the interval between the outward and inward wall of the city was much broader than any where else. Captain Dalton, when intrusted with the command of the garrison, had converted that part of the gateway which projected beyond the outward wall into a solid battery, with embrasures : leaving the part between the two walls as it stood with its windings and terrasses : an interval was likewise left between the backside of the battery, and the terrass nearest to it, which lay parallel to each other ; so that an enemy who had gained the battery could not get to the ter-

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rass without descending into the interjacent area, and then mount- 1753
ing the wall of the terrass with sealing ladders: the battery, however, communicated with the rampart of the outward wall of the city, but being, as that was, only eighteen feet high, it was commanded by the terrasses behind it, as well as by the rampart of the inner wall, both of which were thirty feet high. Upon one of the inward cavaliers, south of the gateway, were planted two pieces of cannon, to plunge into the battery, and scour the interval between the two walls, as far as the terrasses of the gateway; and two other pieces mounted in the north-west angle of the inward rampart, commanded in like manner both the battery and the interval to the north of the terrasses. The French were, by De Cattan's letter, and by deserters, apprized of all these particulars, and notwithstanding the many difficulties they would have to surmount in attempting to force their way into the town through this part of the fortifications, they preferred it to any other, because it was more accessible from without; for a rock level with the water almost choaked up the ditch in front of the battery.

On the 27th of November, at night, the greatest part of the enemy's army crossed the river: the Mysoreans and Morattoes were distributed in different parties round the city, with orders to approach to the counterscarp of the ditch, and divert the attention of the garrison during the principal and real attack, which was reserved for the French troops. Of this body 600 Europeans were appointed to escalade, whilst Mr. Maissin, the commander, with the rest of the battalion, 200 men, and a large body of Sepoys, waited at the edge of the ditch, ready to follow the first party as soon as they should get into the town. At three in the morning the first party crossed the rock in the ditch, and planting their scaling ladders, all of them mounted the battery without raising the least alarm in the garrison: for although the guard appointed for the battery consisted of fifty Sepoys, with their officers, and some European gunners, who were all present and alert when the rounds passed at midnight, most of them were now absent, and they who remained on the battery were fast asleep; these the French killed with their bayonets, intending

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1753 not to fire until they were fired upon: but this resolution was immediately after frustrated by an unforeseen accident; for some of them attempting to get to a slight counterwall which lines the backside of the battery, fell into a deep pit, which had been left in the body of the battery itself, contiguous to that wall: none but the most tried soldiers can refrain from firing upon any unexpected alarm in the night, and upon the screaming of those who were tumbling into the hole, several muskets were discharged. The French now concluding that they were discovered, imagined they might intimidate the garrison by shewing how far they were already successful, and turning two of the twelve pounders upon the battery against the town, discharged them together with a volley of small arms, their drums beating, and their soldiers shouting their usual military cry, "*vive le roy.*" Fortunately the main guard, the barracks of the garrison, and the quarters of the officers were in the north part of the town, not more than 400 yards from the battery. Captain Kilpatrick, who commanded, remained so ill of the wounds he had received in the last engagement, that he was unable to remove from his bed; lieutenant Harrison, the next in command, came to him upon the alarm to receive his orders, which he gave with the usual calmness that distinguished his character on all occasions, directing lieutenant Harrison to march instantly with the picquet, reserve, and the Sepoys who were not already posted, to the place where the attack was made, and to order the rest of the garrison to repair to their respective alarm posts, with injunctions not to stir from them upon pain of death. The enemy having drawn up their scaling ladders into the battery, sent two parties down from it into the interval between the two walls: one of these parties carrying two petards, and conducted by a deserter, entered the passage which led through the terrasses, intending to get into the town by blowing open the gate which stands in the inward rampart: the other party carried the ladders, and were appointed to escalade; whilst the main body remained upon the battery, keeping up a constant fire upon the terrasses, and upon the inward rampart. But by this time the alarm was taken, and the cannon from each hand began to fire smartly into the interval between the two walls, and upon the battery. Lieutenant Harrison, with the main guard,

guard, was likewise arrived upon the rampart, from whence the 1753 greatest part of them passed to the terrasses. The musketry of the assailants and defenders were now employed with great vivacity against each other, but with some uncertainty, having no other light to direct their aim except the frequent flashes of fire : notwithstanding the hurry and confusion, lieutenant Harrison had the presence of mind to station a platoon upon the rampart, directly above the gate, ordering them to keep a constant fire upon the passage immediately below, whether they saw any thing or not : nothing could be more sensible or fortunate than his precaution ; for the platoon killed, without seeing them, the man who was to apply the first petard, as well as the deserter who conducted him, and both of them fell within ten yards of the gate. Those appointed to escalade, fixed their ladders on the south side of the terrasses, and a drummer, followed by an officer, had already mounted to the top, when a party of Sepoys came to this station, who killed the drummer, wounded and seized the officer, and then overturning the scaling ladders overset the men who were upon them : the ladders broke with the fall, and the assailants called for more ; but were disappointed ; for the rest which had been brought were shattered and rendered useless by the grape-shot fired from the two pieces of cannon planted upon the cavalier : it was soon after found that the man who was to manage the second petard was killed. Thus defeated in all their expectations they determined to retreat, and went up to the battery again, where the whole now resolved to make their escape ; but this for the want of their ladders was no longer practicable, except by leaping down eighteen feet perpendicular, either upon the rock or into the water. Desperate as this attempt appeared near one hundred made the experiment ; but what they suffered deterred the rest from following their example, who, in despair, turned, and recommenced their fire from the battery upon the defenders. Lieutenant Harrison, with the greatest part of his Europeans, were assembled upon the terrass nearest the battery, and the two bodies, separated only by an interval of twenty feet, kept up a smart fire upon each other as fast as they could load : but the defenders had the advantage of firing under the cover of parapets from a situation twelve feet higher than the enemy upon the battery, who were totally exposed from head to foot, and

1753 and were likewise taken on each flank by two pieces of cannon, as well as by the fire of some parties of Sepoys posted on the main rampart on each hand of the gateway. Thus galled, unable to retreat, and finding that resistance served only to expose them more, they desisted from firing, and every man endeavoured to shelter himself as he could; some in the embrasures of the battery, others behind a cavalier contiguous to it, and the rest in the interval between the two walls; the garrison, nevertheless, trusting to no appearances of security, continued to fire upon all such places in which they suspected them to be concealed. At length the day, long wished for by both sides, appeared; when the French, flinging down their arms, asked for quarter, which was immediately granted. The officers from the rampart ordered them to assemble in the interval between the two walls, from whence they were conducted, in small bodies at a time, by a party of Europeans into the city, through the gateway they had assaulted. Three hundred and sixty Europeans were thus made prisoners, of which number sixty-seven were wounded; thirty-seven were found killed upon the battery and in the rest of the works: those who escaped by leaping down were taken up by their own troops waiting on the outside of the ditch; but the French themselves confessed, that of the whole number, which was near one hundred, every man was much disabled; and some few were killed. Thus ended this assault, which after exposing the city of Tritchinopoly to the greatest risque it had run during the war, ended by impairing the French force more than any other event since the capture of Seringham, nevertheless we do not find that lieutenant Harrison received any recompence for his gallant and sensible conduct in this hazardous and important service: he died some time after, without being promoted from the rank in which he served when he saved the city.

The firing was heard by the outguards at Coiladdy, where the next evening a messenger arrived from the city, upon which major Lawrence immediately detached a party to reinforce the garrison, and prepared to follow with the rest of the army, but heavy rains prevented him from arriving before the 3d of December. In the mean time the enemy on the third night after the assault crossed the river again, with all the Mysore cavalry, eight thousand men, dismounted,

who

who had promised the regent to make a more successful attack upon the city; but finding the garrison alert they retreated without attempting any thing. 1753

The king of Tanjore, who, notwithstanding the alliance he was entering into with the French, knew nothing of their intentions to storm Tritchinopoly, was not a little astonished at the news, and the loss which they sustained in the attempt made him repent that he had shewn so much inclination to abandon the Nabob and the English: the French finding that their misfortune produced a change in the intentions which the king had began to entertain in their favour, determined to waste no more time in negociating with him, but prepared to send a party of Morattoes to ravage his country. The king having intelligence of their design sent a body of troops under the command of his uncle Gauderow to Tricatopoly, a fort eighteen miles east of Tritchinopoly, where they were ordered to remain and punish the Morattoes: for this phrase, in the vain language of the princes of Indostan, is synonimous to fighting, and is not seldom made use of even by those who lose the battle. The king making a merit of this resolution to the Nabob, pretended that Gauderow only waited on the frontiers until the whole army was assembled, which would then immediately march to Tritchinopoly. Major Lawrence, willing to put the sincerity of this profession to the test, wrote to the king that his troops would be of little service whilst they were commanded by so unexperienced an officer as Gauderow, and desired that Monac-gee might be reinstated in the command, of which he was the only man in the kingdom capable. This commendation served to confirm those suspicions of the general which had been raised in the king's mind by the artifices of his minister; and major Lawrence being informed of the alarm which the king had taken from his remonstrances in Monac-gee's favour, resolved to make no farther mention of his name, lest the consequences should be fatal to him: but requested that the Tanjorine troops might join him without delay, even under the command of Gauderow. None however came; for the Morattoes having sent a small party to amuse Gauderow, their main body of 1200 men penetrated into the kingdom at the end of December by another road,

1753 road, and as they had threatened began to lay the country waste with fire and sword.

This was the first motion which any of the enemy's parties had made since the assault of Tritchinopoly: in the mean time several convoys were escorted from Tricatopoly to the English camp.

In the Carnatic the districts which acknowledged the Nabob had received no molestation from his enemies since the defeat of Mahomed Comaul at Tripetti, which happened in the month of September. The troops which Mr. Dupleix was able to send into the field from Pondicherry had lately been employed in besieging Palam Cotah, the same fort which they had refused to reduce for Morari-row. This place, with the circumjacent territory, is the only part in the Carnatic which does not depend on the Nabob of Arcot; it belongs to the Nabob of Cudapah. Examples of such sequestrations occur in every province of the Mogul empire, which amongst the rest of its feudal institutions allots to every Nabob a certain revenue arising from the product of lands, for his private expences: but as the basis of the Mogul government consists in regulations which deprive all its officers of any pretensions to real estates, and in obliging them to acknowledge that they hold nothing by any other title than the favour of the sovereign; the lands thus allotted to a Nabob are rarely situated in the province governed by himself, but are generally chosen in the most distant part of one of the neighbouring provinces; so that in this institution the Mogul's authority over all his officers appears in its utmost majesty; since the inhabitants of a province see the Nabob appointed to rule them, excluded from the right of appropriating to himself any part of the territory over which his jurisdiction, notwithstanding, extends. Hence likewise a perpetual source of disputes is established between the Nabobs of neighbouring provinces, who never fail to give one another reason to complain of violence committed in these sequestered lands. The Nabob of Cudapah applied to the presidency of Madrass to assist the governor of Palam Cotah, on which they ordered a detachment of thirty Europeans, and two hundred Sepoys, to march from Devi Cotah and relieve the place. The detachment did not take the field before the

enemy had made a practicable breach which they intended to storm 1753
the next day: but lieutenant Frazer having concerted measures with the governor, contrived to introduce his party that very night, and the enemy at day-break hearing English drums beating in the place, suspected what had happened, and immediately raised the siege.

End *of the* Fourth Book.

BOOK V.

1753 WHILST these events were passing in the southern parts of the Decan, others of great consequence to the interests of the French nation, happened at Golcondah, and in the northern provinces of the Soubahship.

Notwithstanding the death of Ghazi-o-din Khan, which happened in October, 1752, the Morattoe generals, Balagerow and Ragogee Bonsola, continued the war against Sallabadjing and Mr. Bussy, who, as in the preceding year, marched westward towards the country of Balagerow; he, as before, began to burn his own villages, and the Morattoe cavalry in several skirmishes, were repulsed with slaughter by the French troops and artillery. These losses soon induced Balagerow to make proposals of peace, which was concluded about the middle of November at Calberga, a considerable town and fortress about 50 miles west of Beder; Sallabadjing giving up to Balagerow several districts near Brampoor, in exchange for others in the neighbourhood of Aurengabad, which had been given to him by Ghazi-o-din Khan. As soon as this peace was ratified, Balagerow returned with his part of the army to Poni, and Ragogee Bonsola with his towards Nagpore, the capital of his estates, about 350 miles north-east of Aurengabad, in the middle of the province of Berar.

Mr. Bussy having brought the Soubah's affairs to this state of apparent tranquillity, asked and obtained the province of Condavir, adjoining to the territory of Masulipatnam, of which the French company were already in possession; but Condavir was far less than the extent of his views, and he was meditating much greater requests; when they were interrupted by a renewal of hostilities with Ragogee Bonsola, who resenting that Sallabadjing had not consented to several demands,

demands, which he preferred when Balagcrow was treating, loitered 1753
on the way until the other Morattoe, whom he feared, was returned
to his capital; and then, about three weeks after the separation, appeared again before Calberga, where the army of Sallabadjing still remained.

His cavalry, as usual, ruined the country, intercepted convoys, and attacked such parties as they could surprize with superior numbers: but avoided, as much as possible, any encounter with the French troops: which however they could not always escape; but were exposed several times to the French artillery, by which they suffered considerably. He nevertheless continued his depredations, and Mr. Bussy wishing, for the sake of his own views, to relieve Sallabadjing from all military operations, advised him to give Ragogee several districts in the neighbourhood of Berar, who on this cession retreated to his own country, about three weeks after he had recommenced hostilities. But these pacifications produced an effect contrary to that which Mr. Bussy had expected from them; for the cessions made to the Morattoes, had deprived many of Sallabadjing's officers of their pensions and employments, and consequently encreased their aversion to the influence which Mr. Bussy maintained in his councils. Shanavaze Khan, the first promoter of this discontent, no longer appeared at the head of the faction; but another more dangerous opponent encouraged the disaffected, and thwarted Mr. Bussy: this was Seid Laskar Khan, the Duan, who under Nizam-al-muluck had held the post of captain-general of the Soubah's army, in which character he likewise accompanied Nazirjing into the Carnatic. From the opinion entertained of his abilities, both as a statesman and a soldier, it was believed that Nazirjing would have escaped his fate, if he had not deprived himself of the counsels of this officer, by sending him to suppress some commotions at Aurengabad, soon after the army retired from Pondicherry to Arcot; he was at Aurengabad when Sallabadjing and Mr. Bussy arrived there, in the preceding year; and although he detested, more than any one, the favours which the Soubah conferred upon his European allies, he dissembled his sentiments so well, that Mr. Bussy believing him his

 friend,

1753 friend, had persuaded Sallabadjing to appoint him Duan, or Vizier; but as soon as Seid Laskar Khan found himself well-established in this post, he threw off the mask, and on all occasions contradicted the inclinations of his prince, whenever he thought they were dictated by the influences of Mr. Bussy; and now more than ever, when he saw the extent of his demands for the French nation. It happened that in the beginning of the year 1753, a few days after the peace with Ragogee, Mr. Bussy fell dangerously ill at Calberga, and although his constitution surmounted the first attacks of his distemper, he remained much enfeebled; and his physician being convinced, that his recovery depended on a total relief from those continual and anxious occupations, to which Mr. Bussy could not refuse himself, whilst he remained either in the camp, or court of Sallabadjing, he advised him immediately to retire, and to sequester himself from all business at Masulipatnam, until he should be perfectly recovered. Accordingly, Mr. Bussy departed from the camp in January, but left all the French troops and Sepoys with Sallabadjing, who soon after his departure proceeded without interruption to Hyderabad. The officer who now commanded the French troops, had neither experience, nor capacity sufficient to penetrate and counteract the intrigues of a faction in a Moorish court; and the Duan resolved, during Mr. Bussy's absence, to break the union between these too powerful auxiliaries and his sovereign. This was no easy task; for Mr. Bussy had persuaded Sallabadjing, a prince deficient both in personal courage and sagacity, that the French battalion were not only the principal support of his government against foreign enemies; but also the best security of his person and authority against intestine plots and commotions. The Duan therefore found it necessary to accustom him by degrees to the absence of these favourite troops: it was equally necessary to prevent them from entertaining any suspicion of this design, for they were too formidable to be removed abruptly; Mr. Bussy having joined to the battalion of Europeans, a body of 5000 Sepoys, paid by himself and acting entirely under his own orders. The Duan therefore neglected for some time to furnish the pay of the French army at the usual periods, pretending that several considerable districts at a distance from Hyderabad,

Hyderabad, had failed in the payment of their revenues to the treasury; 1753 and when the French officers, as he expected, complained loudly of their own distresses, he told him that he knew no other method of satisfying their demands, unless by sending them to collect the revenues of the Soubah from those who withheld them : this proposal they very readily accepted, expecting, from the custom of Indostan, that they should receive considerable presents, besides the sums which they were charged to levy. Still it would have been difficult to have obtained Sallabadjing's consent for their departure, had not their own misconduct convinced him that it was necessary for the peace of the city; where, since Mr. Bussy's departure, the discipline to which he had accustomed them was so much relaxed, that they daily committed disorders, for which, the persons aggrieved, were continually demanding justice at the gates of the palace.

As soon as the Duan had thus removed and separated the greatest part of the French troops, into several different parts of the country, he invented some pretext to persuade Sallabadjing, that it was necessary he should return without delay to Aurengabad; and even prevailed upon him, to permit no more than a small detachment of their Europeans and Sepoys to accompany him. He then instructed the governor of Golcondah, to furnish no pay to those who remained in the city, and to distress them by every other means, excepting open hostilities; and the same orders were given in the countries, to which the several detachments had been sent to collect their arrears. This treatment, so different from what the French had hitherto received, he thought would lead them, of their own accord, to ask their dismission from a service, in which they should find that nothing more was to be got.

Accordingly the soldiers and Sepoys disappointed of their pay, began to clamour and desert; but the French officers stood firm to their duty, and contributed their own money to appease their troops. This resource, however, was very inadequate to the necessity, and the danger encreasing every day, they wrote to Mr, Bussy, that his immediate return to Hyderabad, was the only means, left to save the national affairs in the Decan. Mr. Bussy, not being yet recovered

1753 from his illness, hesitated; but was soon after determined by a peremptory letter from Mr. Dupleix, threatening to make him responsible for the consequences of his absence from the important command with which the nation had intrusted him with such unlimited confidence. He left Masulipatnam about the end of June, having previously sent orders to all the detachments stationed abroad, to be at Hyderabad, about the time that he expected to arrive there himself. He arrived on the 23rd of July, and found all his troops assembled in the city; they were 500 Europeans and 4000 Sepoys. This force, and his own presence, imposed respect upon the governor, and all the other officers of Sallabadjing's administration. They immediately consented to furnish some money in part of the arrears, which the Duan had withheld with so much artifice, and Mr. Bussy out of his own stock, and by his credit with the bankers, procured more, which all together was sufficient to appease the troops; whom, nevertheless, in the first days after his arrival, he had with much difficulty been able to restrain from open tumult and violence in the city. But although the present distress was removed, yet no provision was made for the future; and from the late practices, every obstacle was still to be expected from the disposition of the Duan, who, at this very time, refused to furnish the pay, and subsistance of the small detachment which had accompanied Sallabadjing to Aurengabad. Mr. Bussy saw the only remedy; and determined to proceed with his whole force to that city, as soon as the rains should cease, which, in that part of the Decan, continue from the beginning of July to the end of September. The march from Golcondah to Aurengabad is at least 300 miles: nevertheless, he found means from his own resources to make the necessary preparations, and left Golcondah in the beginning of October.

Notwithstanding the evil disposition of Seid Laskar Khan, and his adherents, Mr. Bussy had several friends, who were men of importance in the court of Aurengabad; Sallabadjing himself was at this time very much in debt to his own army, and moreover, in apprehensions of another rupture with Ragogee the Morattoe; so that the boldness of Mr. Bussy's resolution, in marching uncalled for to Au-

rengabad, created no little perplexity in the councils of the Soubah, 1753
and more in the mind of his minister, who even deliberated with himself, whether he should not take refuge in the impregnable fortress of Doltabad, about eight miles from Aurengabad; he however judged better, and tried negotiation, making many excuses and apologies, proffering to surrender the seals of his office, and requesting that Mr. Bussy would confer them upon some other person. Mr. Bussy penetrated the artifice of this seeming humility, which was practised by the Duan, only because he knew that Mr. Bussy would not risque the obloquy and reproach of having moved him from his office, as the preparatory means of obtaining the ambitious demands of his own nation from Sallabadjing. Both therefore were equally willing to treat, and an able agent, in whom both had equal confidence, soon adjusted the terms of reconciliation. The ceremonials of the first interviews, both with Seid Laskar Khan and Sallabadjing, were dictated by Mr. Bussy, and agreed to by them.

Every thing being settled, the French army advanced on the 23d of November from the ground where they had halted several days, waiting for the conclusion of the terms of reconciliation. About eight miles from Aurengabad, they were met by Seid Lasker Khan, accompanied by twenty-one other lords of distinction, all riding in the same line on their elephants, attended by their respective guards and retinues, and surrounded by a great number of spectators. When near, the elephant of Seid Laskar Khan bowed first; on which all the other lords dismounted likewise, as did Mr. Bussy, who embraced first Seid Laskar Khan, and then the other lords. All then mounted again, and proceeded in military order towards the Soubah, who waited for them, accompanied by a great number of troops, in a tent, pitched at some distance from this interview. He embraced Mr. Bussy at the entrance of the tent, and was saluted by the French artillery. When seated within, Mr. Bussy made his offerings, which consisted of several elephants, some horses, and jewels; all his officers likewise presented gold rupees. After which Sallabadjing arose and came out of the tent, holding Mr. Bussy by the hand, who assisted him to mount his elephant, and then mounted his own, as did all the lords.

The

1753 The procession was now magnificent and immense, consisting of a great army, all the nobles, and most of the inhabitants of one of the first cities in Indostan. The pomp, when arrived at the palace, was saluted by numerous and repeated discharges of cannon. As soon as the court was ranged, Sallabadjing made presents to Mr. Bussy, of the same kind and value as he had just before received from him, and then dismissed the assembly. Mr. Bussy then proceeded to the house of Seid Laskar Khan, who confirmed and swore to the executing the terms which Mr. Bussy had insisted upon. They were, that "the provinces of Mustaphanagar, Elore, Rajamundrum, and Chicacole, should be given for the support of the French army; and "that the patents should be delivered in three days: that the sums "which Jaffer ali Khan, at that time governor of those provinces, "might have collected before Mr. Bussy should be able to settle the "administration of them, should be made good from the Soubah's "treasury, in case Jaffer ali Khan himself should delay, or evade the "payment of them: that the French troops should, as before the "separation, have the guard of the Saubah's person: that he should "not interfere in any manner in the affairs of the province of Arcot; and that all other affairs in general, should be conducted "with the concurrence of Mr. Bussy. In return, Mr. Bussy swore "to support and befriend Seid Laskar Khan in his office of Duan." The patents for the four provinces were prepared without delay, and delivered to Mr. Bussy, who sent them immediately to Mr. Moracin, the French chief at Masulipatnam, with instructions, to take possession.

These acquisitions added to Masulipatnam, and the province of Condavir, made the French masters of the sea-coast of Coromandel and Orixa, in an uninterrupted line of 600 miles from Medapilly to the pagoda of Jagernaut. These countries are bounded by a vast chain of mountains, which run nearly in the same direction as the sea-coast, and are in most places about eighty or ninety miles distant from it, although in some few not more than thirty. They are covered with impenetrable forests of bamboes, and in their whole extent there are no more than three or four passes, which according to Mr. Bussy's account,

account, may be defended by 100 men against an army. The province of Condavir extends between the river Kristna and Gondegama, which gains the sea at Medapilly; the limits of the other four provinces are not exactly ascertained; nevertheless it appears that Mustaphanagar joins to the north of Condavir; that Elore lays to the northwest of Mustaphanagar; that Rajamundrum is bounded to the south of these two provinces; and that Chicacole, much the largest of the four, extends 250 miles from the river Godaveri to the pagoda of Jagernaut. The revenues of the four provinces were computed at 3,100,000 rupees; of Condavir, at 680,000, and the dependencies of Masulipatnam were so much improved that they produced this year 507,000; in all 4,287,000 rupees, equal to more than 535,000 pounds sterling: all these rents, excepting those of Masulipatnam, and its dependencies, which seemed already to have been carried to the height, might be greatly improved. So that these territories rendered the French masters of the greatest dominion, both in extent and value, that had ever been possessed in Indostan by Europeans, not excepting the Portugueze, when at the height of their prosperity. Nor were commercial advantages wanting to enhance the value of these acquisitions, for the manufactures of cloth proper for the European markets are made in this part of the Decan, of much better fabric, and at much cheaper rates than in the Carnatic: in Rajahmundrum are large forests of teak trees, and it is the only part of the coast of Coromandel and Orixa that furnishes this wood, which is equal in every respect to oak; Chicacole abounds in rice and other grain, of which great quantities are exported every year to the Carnatic. Although it was intended that the French should not hold these countries, any longer than they maintained the stipulated number of troops in the Soubah's service, yet it is evident that he could not have given them an establishment in any part of his dominions, from which it would be so difficult to expel them, in case they neglected to fulfil their obligation: for, defended on one hand by the chain of mountains, and having on the other all the resources of the sea open, they might, with a few precautions, defy the united force of the Decan. This the Duan, Seid Laskar Khan knew, and dreaded so much, that he had offered Mr. Bussy a much larger tract of country, in the

1753

inland

1753 inland parts of the Soubahship, provided he would desist from demanding these provinces.

Mr. Bussy passed the remainder of the year 1753, at Aurengabad, employed in regulating the discipline of his troops, in providing means for their pay and subsistance, and in making preparations to act in concert with the army of Sallabadjing, against the Morattoe Ragogee Bonsola.

Upon the death of Ghazi-o-din Khan, the emperor, Hamed Schah conferred the office of captain-general of the army upon Sche-abed-din, the son of Ghazi-o-din Khan, although at that time a youth, not more than 16 years of age; but a diligent education, and very uncommon natural talents, with the constant advice of the preceptor of his infancy, enabled him to conduct himself in this great office, not only without folly, or indecision, but with so much artifice and boldness, as soon convinced all the omrahs of the court, that he was much more to be dreaded than despised; and indeed, he never rejected any crime which promoted the end he intended to accomplish. For some time his uncle Sallabadjing, remained in apprehensions that he would march into the Decan, to revenge his father's death; but he had at that time taken so great a part in the distracted affairs of Delhi, that he had neither leisure or opportunity to interfere so far from the capital. We shall defer to give any account of these events, until the consequences of them come to affect or influence the English affairs in another part of Indostan.

The English themselves could not refrain from admiring the sagacity of Mr. Dupleix's conduct, which, by making the war in the Carnatic subservient to his views on the northern provinces, had by degrees led his nation to the great establishments of which they were now in possession. At the same time they had the satisfaction to know that these successes of their enemies could not be imputed to any defects in their own conduct; for so far from having a force sufficient to make head against the French, in two parts of the country so distant from each other as Golcondah and Tritchinopoly; their whole force collected was always much inferior to what the French were able to oppose to them in the southern parts of the Decan; where nothing but efforts of valour, scarcely

to

to be paralleled, had carried them through the two wars of Chunda-saheb, and the Mysoreans. It was equally fortunate for the nation, that chance should have placed during these arduous times, a man of much sagacity, indefatigable application, and a perseverance equal to Dupleix's, at the head of the presidency; such was Mr. Saunders, who came to the government a little before the death of Nazir-jing; and, convinced by that event of the ambitious schemes of Mr. Dupleix, determined to oppose them to the utmost of his strength, notwithstanding he had no instructions from the company to engage in hostilities; and notwithstanding the two nations were at peace in Europe, he had with the same spirit continued the war, never discouraged by adverse turns, nor dreading the event of desperate attempts when necessary to retrieve them. The two governors had during the whole course of hostilities carried on a sharp and acute controversy by letters; and Mr. Dupleix, who had even before the event happened, persuaded himself that Mr. Bussy would obtain the northern provinces, had, towards the end of the year 1753, affected to shew an inclination to terminate the war in the Carnatic; and in the beginning of the year 1754, consented to treat in form. When it was agreed that a conference should be held in the town of Sadrass, belonging to the Dutch, on the road between Madrass and Pondicherry. 1753

The deputies, on the side of the English, were Mr. Palk and Mr. Vansittart: on the French, the father Lavaur, superior of the French Jesuits in India; Mr. Kirjean, nephew to Mr. Dupleix; and Mr. Bausset, a member of the council of Pondicherry. They met on the 3d of January; the two governors superintending and directing their proceedings by letters, which were no more than twelve hours in coming from Pondicherry, and only six from Madrass. The English deputies opened the conference by proposing as the basis of the negociation, that Mahomed-ally should be acknowledged Nabob of the Carnatic, with the same authority as had ever been possessed by any former Nabob; and that the king of Tanjore should be guaranteed in the peaceable possession of his kingdom. The French then produced their ideas of a basis, and the whole of their terms together: their basis implied the acknowledgment of Salabad-jing as Soubah of 1754

1754 the Decan, and the immediate release of the French prisoners taken during the war: the English, in return for their acquiescence to these two articles, were to be exempted from the ground rent of Madrass, a small fine formerly paid to the government of Arcot; they were to keep possession of the country of Ponomalee; and some establishment was to be made for Mahomed-ally after his difference with the Mysorean concerning Tritchinopoly was conciliated. It was impossible to have made proposals more directly opposite; for by acknowledging Salabad-jing without restrictions, the French would become arbiters of the fate of the English in the Carnatic, as they would of the French, if Mahomed-ally was acknowledged: so that each side required of the other to give up every thing before they had well begun to treat of any thing. However the business did not stop, and the French deputies produced seven patents, which they called their authorities for interfering as they had done, in the affairs of the Mogul government, and for making the present demands: two of these were patents from Murzafa-jing; one appointing Mr. Dupleix commander in all the countries from the river Kristna to the sea; the other, Chunda-saheb governor of the Carnatic: four were from Salabad-jing; two confirming the two foregoing; another giving the countries of Arcot and Tritchinopoly to Mr. Dupleix after the death of Chunda-saheb; the other appointing Mortiz-ally of Velore, lieutenant under Mr. Dupleix in these countries: the seventh and last piece, which the French called the most authentic, was a letter from the Great Mogul, confirming all that Salabad-jing had done in favour of Mr. Dupleix and his allies. The French deputies then asked what titles the English had to produce; who replied that they consisted of patents from Nazir-jing, Gazi-o-din Khan, and the Great Mogul, appointing Mahomed-ally Nabob of the Carnatic: here again was a flat contradiction, and of such a nature as could not be adjusted without sending the deputies to Delhi. The French, notwithstanding, insisted that the titles should be examined; and being told that the Nabob's were at Tritchinopoly, desired that they might be immediately sent for; nevertheless they in the mean time delivered copies of their own to be scrutinized by the English deputies. But Mr. Saunders, convinced that this examination would multiply discussions, without removing any of the suspicions

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and objections which prevailed with both sides on the validity of the 1754
adversary's titles, came close to the point, and ordered his deputies to propose that the English and French should be put in possession of lands of equal value in such different parts of the province as might prevent future disputes; that the commerce of the two companies in the Carnatic should be established on equal terms of advantage; that security should be given to the Mysoreans for such a sum of money as upon an equitable adjustment of their account might appear to be due to them; that a pension should be assigned to Rajah-saheb, the son of Chunda-saheb; and that the French prisoners should be released; provided Mr. Dupleix would acknowledge Mahomed-ally Nabob of the Carnatic. These proposals left the French superior by the whole of their possessions to the northward, which were of much greater value than what the English would have been content to take, subject to an equality with them in the Carnatic: a moderation which would have been inconsistent with the continual success of the English arms, if the expences of the war had not already greatly hurt the commercial interests of the East-India company, restrained, by their charter, from enlarging their capital. The acknowledgment of Mahomed-ally appeared the only difficulty in Mr. Saunders's proposal; but even this might be removed by the English acknowledging Salabad-jing, on condition that he would confirm Mahomed-ally in the Nabobship; and that the French would likewise agree to concur equally with the English in supporting this prince in his government. But Mr. Dupleix was so intoxicated by his connexions with Salabad-jing, and his notions of his own authority in the Carnatic, that he rejected Mr. Saunders's proposal with disdain. It was now no longer possible to mistake his views, or to doubt that he had any other intention than to leave the English in possession of a fortieth part of the territories dependant on Arcot, on condition that they would tamely suffer him to keep and govern all the rest with absolute sovereignty. Big with these ideas, he ordered his deputies to insist strenuously on the validity of his titles: and whilst they were explaining the various events, which had led their nation to the acquisition of such important prerogatives, the English deputies discovered that the Mogul's letter to Mr. Dupleix wanted the usual signature, which is a seal engraved with hi

1754 name and titles, and stamped with ink at the head of the patent. They likewise observed that the seal impressed on the wax which had secured the cover of the letter, appeared by the date to be thirty-three years old, and consequently belonged to a former emperor. These defects naturally gave them many suspicions, which were much confirmed, when, on desiring an explanation from the French deputies, they immediately recalled all their papers, giving for a reason, that they would not submit them to any farther examination before the Nabob's patents were produced. This in reality was no reason at all; they, however, consulted Mr. Dupleix on the objections made to the Mogul's letter, who replied, that the piece he had delivered to them was only a duplicate, to which the writer in the secretary's office at Delhi, might have thought it needless to affix the seal of signature, and that with the same negligence the first seal which came to hand might have been taken up by him to seal the cover; but that the original brought by the Mogul's officer deputed from Delhi, had the seal of signature affixed to it, which was dated in the first year of the reign of the late emperor Hamed Schah; and that the letter itself was dated in the fifth year of his reign, the same in which it was received. It now became necessary to examine the original, and to enquire whether it was the custom in the secretary's office at Delhi to pay so little attention to duplicates; but Mr. Saunders, and the English deputies, thought that what they had already seen and heard was a sufficient proof that the copy was a forgery, and concluded the same of the original, and the rest of the French papers: the French deputies nevertheless persisted to defend the authenticity of them; and least the abrupt manner in which they had withdrawn them from farther examination should be interpreted as a proof that they themselves knew their pieces could not stand the test, they now gave another reason for this part of their conduct, alledging that they had recalled them only for fear copies should be taken in order to direct Mahomed-ally in making out those patents he had promised to produce. This blundering apology exposed their cause more than any remarks which their adversaries had hitherto made; for it was a tacit acknowledgment, that they themselves were convinced of the possibility of forging patents with so much dexterity that the artifice could

could not be detected. It might have been asked, by what means 1754
they arrived at this conviction; and the English deputies might have added, as the natural consequences of this principle laid down by their adversaries, that if Mahomed-ally could avail himself of such arts, Mr. Dupleix might have made use of them likewise: this argument, however, was not produced, either because it did not occur, because it would have exploded the pretentions arising from patents on both sides: but this the English ought to have wished, since it would have reduced the conference to a plan of equality, which would give them a right to demand an equal share of the countries to the northward, or to insist that the French should relinquish them; after which the English might have consented to recede from this demand, on condition that Mr. Dupleix should acknowledge Mahomed-ally in the Carnatic; but arguments have very little influence in treaties, and both sides had already made use of such sharp invectives on the conduct of their adversaries during the war, that it was manifest neither had any hopes of bringing about a reconciliation. Thus the conference broke up on the eleventh day after it began, leaving both sides more exasperated than ever.

In the mean while hostilities did not cease. The body of 1200 Morattoes, who had slipped by Gauderow, pushed through the kingdom of Tanjore even to the sea-coast; plundering and burning the villages, destroying the grain, and driving off the cattle: the consternation and mischief which they spread through the country, convinced the king of his imprudence in having set so little value on the alliance of the English, as well as on the abilities of his general Monac-gee; and with the usual suppleness of weak minds when involved in dangerous circumstances, he now strenuously sollicited major Lawrence to march to his relief; and reinstated Monac-gee in the command of the army. The violent rains had swelled the rivers, and rendered the roads so bad, that it was impossible for the English to march into his country; but Monac-gee went in quest of the enemy without delay, at the head of 3000 horse. The Morattoes, ignorant of the country, had imprudently got between two branches of the Caveri near the sea, and a sudden flood swelled both the channels so much, that they

were

1754 were inclosed in an island from which they could not get out again before the waters subsided. Whilst they were waiting for this at the head of the island, Monac-gee marched and encamped to the eastward of them, near a pass which he knew would be fordable sooner than any other part of the two arms by which they were enclosed; and the instant that the waters were sufficiently fallen, crossed over, and coming upon them by surprize, attacked them in the angle of the island, where it was so narrow that his troops extended from one arm to the other in their front. The Morattoes, thus pent up, seeing no other means to escape but by cutting their way through the Tanjorines, exerted themselves with their usual bravery, augmented by despair: but on the other hand, the Tanjorines were inflamed by the desire of revenging the injuries their country had suffered from these cruel freebooters, and Monac-gee, sensible that the continuance of his master's uncertain favour would depend on the success of this day, animated his troops, who loved him, by his own example; fighting in the thickest throng with the utmost intrepidity. Valour on both sides being thus equal, the superiority of numbers decided the victory; 800 of the Morattoes were killed, and most of the rest were wounded and taken prisoners. To deter them from invading his country in furture, Monac-gee ordered all the dead bodies to be hanged upon trees; and all the prisoners, not excepting those who were wounded, to be impaled alive in sight of the high roads. Having disgraced his victory by this cruelty, he returned with the horses of the slain in triumph to Tanjore. The English hoped that this success would induce the king to send his troops to join them; and the victorious general expected that the service he held rendered would confirm him in his master's favour: but both were disappointed; for the envy of the minister Succo-gee increasing with the merit of his rival, he persuaded the king that there was no longer any necessity to be at the expence of keeping his troops in pay, since the severe blow which the Morattoes had received, would doubtless deter them from making another incursion into his country. The king therefore, after complimenting Monac-gee on his success, told him there was no farther occasion for his service, and disbanded his army.

The

The number of French prisoners in Tritchinopoly, obliged major 1754
Lawrence to augment the garrison to 300 Europeans, and 1500 Sepoys; 150 of the battalion likewise remained sick in the hospital; so that the whole force with which he kept the field was no more than 600 Europeans, including the artillery men, and 1800 Sepoys; the French battalion, reinforced in December with 200 men, was now equal to the English, and they had moreover four companies of Topasses, each of 100 men, distinct from their battalion; they had also 6000 Sepoys, and the Mysoreans and Morattoes remained as before, with little alteration in their numbers. Notwithstanding this superiority, the enemy did not venture to quit the island and encamp to the south of the Caveri.

The plain of Tritchinopoly having been so long the seat of war, scarce a tree was left standing for several miles round the city; and the English detachments were obliged to march five or six miles to get firewood. Their provisions came chiefly from the Tanjore country; but the merchants would not venture nearer than Tricatapoly, a fort eighteen miles east of Tritchinopoly, from whence, when a sufficient quantity was collected, they were escorted to the camp. What came from Tondiman's country was brought at appointed times to the skirts of his woods, within six or seven miles of the camp. The detachments sent on these services were seldom less than 150 Europeans, and 500 Sepoys, a force which the enemy's cavalry, unsupported by Europeans, were always afraid to attack; and seven convoys were safely escorted from the beginning of January to the middle of February; at which time a convoy was in readiness, much larger than any of the former, for it consisted of a great quantity of military stores, as well as provisions, the carriage of which required no less than 3000 oxen: the escort was therefore made stronger than usual, being composed of the grenadier company of 100 men, 80 other Europeans, 800 Sepoys, and four pieces of cannon; this force, although more than one third of the army, was scarcely adequate to the convoy; and, what was still more unfortunate, the command of the party fell, by the rotation of military duty, to an officer of little experience, and less ability: however, as the enemy had lately exerted themselves

so

1754 so little, little danger was apprehended; and it was imagined that a party of Tanjorine horse which lay encamped at Cootaparah, five miles north-east of Elimiserum, would join the escort upon any emergency: but these, whether inadvertently, or from a malicious design of avoiding the service expected from them, quitted their post the 12th of February, the very day that the escort marched; which, however, arrived without interruption at Tricatapoly in the evening, from whence they set out with the convoy the next day, and gained Kelli Cotah, where they passed the night: this fort is situated about five miles to the east of Cootaparah, and the road between these two places lies through the skirts of Tondiman's woods. The enemy at Seringham receiving intelligence that the party were returning, determined to meet them with a sufficient force; 12000 horse, Morattoes and Mysoreans, 6000 Sepoys, 400 Europeans, with seven pieces of cannon, crossed the river in the night, and posted themselves a little to the east of Cootaparah. The convoy continuing their march at day-break the 15th, advanced two miles from Kelli Cotah without any suspicion of danger; when they discovered at a distance several bodies of cavalry moving on all sides amongst the thickets and underwood. The commanding officer nevertheless made no change in his disposition, which happened to be the very worst that could have been imagined; for he had distributed the troops in small bodies along each side of the line of bullocks and carts, and even in the front and rear kept no more than a single platoon. The Morattoes were commanded by Morari-row and Innis Khan, who soon discovered the weakness of this order of march, and resolved to take advantage of it without waiting for the French troops. On a sudden, all the different bodies of cavalry, which surrounded the convoy, set up a shout in concert, and galloping up at full speed charged every part of the line almost in the same instant; some pushing on to the intervals which separated the different platoons, and then falling on their flanks, whilst others attacked them in front. The onset was so sudden and impetuous, that few of the English troops had time to give more than a single discharge, after which, what resistance they made, was all pell-mell, and in confusion, every man trusting only to himself, and resolving to sell his life as dear as possible.

Most

Most of the Sepoys flung down their arms and fled at the beginning 1754 of the onset. The bullocks, terrified by the tumult, increased it by pushing on all sides to get away, sometimes against the enemy, sometimes upon the escort. The fight however continued until the French troops came up, who obliging the Morattoes, much against their will, to sheathe their swords, offered quarter, which was accepted: 138 soldiers were made prisoners, and of these 100 were wounded, 50 were killed on the spot: of eight officers five were killed, and the other three were wounded; amongst them the commanding officer, mortally. Lieutenant Revel, the same who served at the defence of Arcot, commanded the artillery in this action: this brave man seeing the day lost, and the enemy on the point of getting possession of the cannon, suffered himself to be cut down without making resistance, rather than quit the work in which he was employed, of spiking up one of the field pieces. The garrison of Elimiserum, as soon as they heard the firing, marched to secure the village of Cootaparah, that the convoy might take post in it: but all was lost before they arrived there.

This was by far the severest blow which the English troops had suffered during the course of the war; it took off one third of the battalion; but what rendered the misfortune irreparable, was the loss of that gallant company of grenadiers, whose courage on every occasion we have seen deciding the victory, and who may be said, without exaggeration, to have rendered more service than the same number of troops belonging to any nation in any part of the world. The whole convoy, provisions, military stores, and 7000 pounds in money, fell into the enemy's hands, who returned with their booty and their prisoners to the island. They soon after set the Sepoys at liberty, who returned to the English camp; and they permitted the two surviving English officers to depart on their parole, which was taken in the name of Sallabadjing.

The presidency of Madrass, as soon as they heard of this misfortune, sent a detachment of 180 men, under the command of captain Pigou, to Devi Cottah, by sea; and about the same time hopes were entertained of reinforcing the army with a body of cavalry, which had lately arrived at Arcot, under the command of Maphuze Khan,

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1754 the Nabob's elder brother. This man, taken prisoner when his father was killed at the battle of Ambour, was carried by Chundasaheb to Pondicherry, where he remained until Nazir-jing came into the province, when Mr. Dupleix, at the request of this prince, released him. On Nazir-jing's death he seemed inclinable to follow the fortunes of Murzafa-jing, with whom he went out of the Carnatic ; but after his death retired to Cudapah, where he had remained until he took it into his head to come back to the Carnatic with 2000 horse, and as many Peons, to serve, as he said, the Nabob his brother. He nevertheless on his arrival at Arcot declared he could proceed no farther without receiving a sum of money to satisfy his troops : this his brother Abdul-wahab promised to supply, upon which it was expected that he would march immediately to Tritchinopoly. The experience of the late disaster convinced major Lawrence, that the party at Devi Cottah was not strong enough to march to the camp, and dreading to leave the city exposed to another assault, by moving to join them, he ordered them to wait at Devi Cottah, until Maphuze Khan came up, and determined in the mean time to maintain his ground on the plain, notwithstanding he had only 400 Europeans in the field. The smallness of this number rendered it impossible to bring provisions from such a distance as the Tanjore country, and indeed the king, not doubting but that the late defeat of the escort would oblige the English to retire from Tritchinopoly, discouraged his merchants from supplying them any longer. Tondiman's country therefore remained the only resource, a party of 300 Sepoys were detached, with orders to collect them in Killanore, a village in the woods, about twelve miles from the city. The detachments of Europeans employed to escort them were not permitted to move farther than five miles from the camp, at which distance they halted, and sent forward a detachment of Sepoys, who met the provisions, escorted by the party of Sepoys from Killanore, at the skirts of the wood, and returned with them from thence to the post where the Europeans were halting. In this service they were much assisted by the activity and vigilance of Mahomed Issoof, an excellent partizan, whose merit had raised him from a captain of a company, to be commander in chief of all the Sepoys in the English service, into which he first inlisted under captain

tain Clive, a little before the battle of Covrepauk: he was a brave 1754 and resolute man, but cool and wary in action, and capable of stratagem: he constantly procured intelligence of the enemy's motions, and having a perfect knowledge of the country, planned the marches of the convoys so well, that by constantly changing the roads, and the times of bringing the provisions out of the woods, not one of them was intercepted for three months. The enemy, however, getting intelligence that the magazines were kept at Killanore, sent, in the end of March, a party to attack that place; but they were repulsed by the Sepoys stationed there. About the same time the regent detached 1000 horse, and 1000 Sepoys, with some pieces of cannon, to his own country, which the Morattoe Balagerow had entered, and was plundering: but soon after he received a reinforcement of 2000 Morattoes, under the command of Morari-row's brother, which more than compensated the draught he had made from his army: even this reinforcement did not tempt the enemy to quit the island, and encamp on the plain, although it was evident that this measure would inevitably oblige the English either to retire or bring on a general action. In the mean time the English camp, although not distressed for provisions, had little hopes of receiving any reinforcements to enable them to stand their ground if the enemy should take this step; for the detachment at Devi Cottah could not prudently move until they were joined by Maphuze Khan, who cavilling with his brother about the pay of his troops, had got no farther than Conjeveram, and shewed no inclination to proceed from thence before his demands were satisfied. Major Lawrence therefore, as the only resource, represented to the presidency the necessity of endeavouring to recover the king of Tanjore to the Nabob's interest, and Mr. Palk, who had during his former residence at Tanjore, made himself acceptable to the king, was sent thither again in the middle of April. He now found the king difficult of access, and more than ever under the influence of his minister Succo-gee, who was carrying on a treaty with the Mysoreans, and had prevailed on his master to imprison Monac-gee, under pretence that he had not accounted regularly for the monies which had been issued for the expences of the army. The representations made by Mr. Palk, prevented the

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1754 king from concluding the treaty with the Mysoreans, but did not induce him to send his troops to Tritchinopoly. In these circumstances, which the enemy's generals, if indued with common sagacity or activity, might soon have rendered desperate, it was discovered that the army had for some time been exposed to the danger of treachery from a person in whom, by the nature of his office, major Lawrence had been obliged to repose the utmost confidence.

One day in the beginning of April, a Bramin informed the servant of captain Kilpatrick, that as he was washing himself that mornin at the river side, some of the enemy's Colleries crossed the river, and gave a parcel to some Colleries belonging to the English camp, whom he heard, although indistinctly, saying something about a letter, and Mahomed Issoof the commander of the Sepoys ; he added, that he knew the men who had taken the parcel, and desired assistance to seize them. The Colleries were immediately taken up, and one of them, without hesitation, delivered a woollen parcel, containing a letter directed to Mahomed Issoof, which captain Kilpatrick immediately carried to the major, in whose presence it was opened, and interpreted by Poniapah, the principal linguist. It was from the regent of Mysore, sealed with his seal of signature, and on the back was stamped the print of a hand, a form equivalent with the Mysoreans to an oath. The letter desired Mahomed Issoof, and another officer of Sepoys, to meet, according to their promise, some persons who were to be deputed by the regent, with powers to adjust the time and manner of betraying the city of Tritchinopoly ; in reward for which service the regent promised, if the plot succeeded, to give Mahomed Issoof a sum of money equal to 160,000 pounds sterling, a considerable command in his army, with some lands ; he agreed likewise to reward, in the manner that Mahomed Issoof should recommend, such friends as he might employ in the enterprize. On this Mahomed Issoof, the other officer of Sepoys mentioned in the letter, the Bramin who gave the information, and the Colleries he had accused, were imprisoned ; and captain Kilpatrick, with captain Caillaud, were appointed to examine them. The Bramin was a writer to the commissary of the army, and had lately been confined upon a

suspicion

suspicion of having embezzled some money; he persisted in his story; 1754 but the Colleries said, that the parcel was first discovered by them lying on some steps, near the place where they were washing, and that asking one another what it might be, they concluded it was something belonging to a person who had washed there in the morning, or to the Bramin himself who was then washing very near them: so they agreed not to touch it, and went away; but one less scrupulous than the rest, in hopes that it might contain something of value, returned and took it up. Mahomed Issoof, and the other Sepoy officer, declared they knew nothing of the matter. Poniapah the linguist interpreted the depositions, and gave it as his opinion, that the Bramin knew more of the letter than he had discovered. The next day the prisoners were examined again, when the Bramin was assured that is life should be spared if he would reveal the truth: upon which he declared, that the day before he accused the Colleries, he went to Seringham, in consequence of a message from the regent of Mysore, desiring to see him; when the regent offered him a reward of 100,000 rupees, if he would contrive to make use of the letter in question, so as to prejudice Mahomed Issoof in the minds of the English; he added, that he undertook the commission partly for the sake of the reward, and partly from desire to be revenged on Mahomed Issoof, who had been the principal author of his late imprisonment. The Colleries were again examined separately, and agreed, without any variation, in the deposition they made the day before; upon which they, as well as Mahomed Issoof, and the other Sepoy officer, were released, and declared innocent.

However, suspicions were entertained that the whole truth had not been told, and that some person, of much more consequence than an insignificant writer, such as the Bramin, was at the bottom of this daring iniquity: the Bramin was therefore sent back to prison, and remained there several days, often urged to discover more; but still persisting in his second deposition. At length, major Lawrence finding that gentle methods produced nothing, determined to try the effect of terror, and ordered Poniapah, the linguist, to acquaint him, that he must prepare to die the next morning, unless he confessed the

whole

1754 whole truth, and support it by proofs. The linguist returned and said, the prisoner had now confessed that he had been advised to go to the king, and propose the scheme of the letter by one Gopinrauze, a man who resided in Tritchinopoly, and formerly served as an interpreter to the English commandant of the garrison. Gopinrauze, was immediately examined ; he said he knew nothing of the affair, but appeared confounded and frightened, upon which Poniapah the linguist said he was certainly guilty. Whilst the examination of Gopinrauze was carried on in the camp, the Bramin confined in the city, contrived to send a message to Mahomed Issoof, desiring to see him, having something of importance to communicate. Mahomed Issoof repaired to the prison, taking the precaution to carry another person with him to be a witness of the conversation ; when the prisoner made the following declaration. That serving in the commissary's department, under Peramrauze the principal agent and interpreter to the English commissary, he had several times been sent to Seringham to sollicit the release of his master's family, who had been taken prisoners, when the convoy coming from Tricatapoly was defeated. After several journies he procured their liberty, and a little while afterwards Poniapah proposed to him, as he was known in the enemy's camp, to carry a letter, and deliver it either to the king, or some of his principal officers ; the Bramin answered, that it was a dangerous business, for which he might be hanged ; to which the linguist replied, that he should be able to save him by saying that he employed him as a spy. The Bramin desired time to consider, and immediately went and consulted his master Peramrauze, who advised him to comply with Poniapah's request. Poniapah, however apprehensive of a discovery, told him that it was not proper to write the letter in the English camp, but directed the prisoner to write it himself when arrived in the enemy's camp ; which instruction he obeyed. The letter was addressed to two principal officers, desiring they would persuade the regent to write to major Lawrence, and request him to send Poniapah to Seringham in order to hear some proposals relating to the dispute with the Nabob concerning Tritchinopoly. The next day messengers from the regent came to major Lawrence, by whose orders Poniapah proceeded to Seringham ;

ham; the Bramin accompanied him, and was present during his 1754
whole conversation with the regent: who began by exclaiming against
the Nabob for his breach of faith, and asked what reasons the English could have for supporting him in it. Poniapah answered, that he had assisted them in defending Fort St. David, when attacked by the French in 1748. Poniapah then asked the regent what he had in his heart; who replied, that if the English would pay him all the expences he had incurred during the war, he would go away; or if they would give him the city, he would pay their expences: or lastly, if the Nabob and his whole family, would come and throw themselves at his feet, beg for mercy, and own themselves beggars, that would satisfy him. Why, said he, do the English stay here and spend their money to no purpose; my expence is no greater than it would be if I remained in Mysore. Poniapah replied, that he knew the English would give up the city, if their expences were reimbursed; for that he had seen a letter to this purport, written by the governor of Madrass, five or six months ago. The regent said he was ready to make the agreement, but that it must be kept a secret from the French, for he would not trust them, knowing that they wanted the city for themselves. Poniapah assured him, that the business might be concluded as soon as Mr. Palk arrived at Tanjore; and in answer to questions made by the regent, he told him, that the English got all their provisions from Tondiman's country, that there were only provisions for two months in the city, and likewise revealed several other interesting particulars of their condition. The regent assured him, that if the negociation succeeded, he would give him a great reward in money, a number of villages, and the command of a thousand Bramins: for Poniapah himself was a Bramin. The conference then finished, and Poniapah, at his return to camp, reported to the major such part of it only as could not prejudice himself; he likewise ordered the Bramin to say nothing of what he had heard to any one, excepting his master Peramrauze, and to tell him only such particulars as he himself intended to relate to the major. Some time after the commissary's business requiring the Bramin to go to Tanjore, Poniapah was averse to his departure. On his return from thence he was confined

1754 confined under a guard of Sepoys, for a deficiency in some money which had been intrusted to him; but Peramrauze promising to be responsible for him, Mahomed Issoof, after much sollicitation, released him: as soon as he came out of his confinement, his master sent him to Poniapah, who told him, that so much time had been lost by his journey to Tanjore, and his confinement after his return, that the regent, who had heard nothing of the business since they went to Seringham together, must imagine they had trifled with him; it was necessary therefore, he said, that the Bramin should go to the regent without delay. The Bramin consenting, Poniapah gave him instructions how to conduct himself; in consequence of which he advised the regent to write to Mr. Palk at Tanjore, desiring him to get permission for Poniapah to come again to Seringham: he added, that if the regent could in the mean time contrive to prevent the English from receiving provisions, they must inevitably retire; that as the Neloor Subahdar was the only person who knew how to conduct their convoys, it was necessary to get him killed, which might easily be effected, since he often went abroad with small parties; but as a surer method to remove him, the regent ought to write a letter addressed to him, pretending that he had promised to betray the city. The regent wrote the letter without hesitation, and delivered it to the Bramin, who returning from Seringham, was taken up with the letter concealed in his cloaths, by some of the English troopers: they carried him a prisoner to the camp, but without discovering the letter; he was extricated out of this difficulty by Poniapah, who being ordered to examine him, reported that he had been to visit some relations at Elimiserum. As soon as he was released, he went to his master Peramrauze, and gave him some hints of the business he had been doing at Seringham. The next day he laid the letter on the steps by the river side, and as soon as he saw one of the Colleries take it up, went and gave information to captain Kilpatrick's servant.

Mahomed Issoof, on hearing this account, went to Peramrauze, and asked him, what he knew of the affair. The man threw himself at his feet, and implored his mercy; but Mahomed Issoof immediately secured him, and returning to the camp, related to major Lawrence

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what the Bramin had declared, on which Poniapah was seized and imprisoned. 1754

The Bramin repeated to the court of enquiry, without addition or deviation, all he had declared to Mahomed Issoof: being asked, what induced him to accuse Gopinrauze, he said, that when major Lawrence had determined to put him to death, unless he discovered his accomplices, Poniapah, who was ordered to acquaint him of this resolution, advised him to accuse somebody, and asked him whether he had lately had any conversation with Gopinrauze; he replied that he had met him at the house of Peramrauze, on the evening after his return from Seringham, and that they had conversed together in private near a quarter of an hour, whilst a number of Sepoy officers and other persons were assembled in the house, in order to see the experiments of a conjurer, who had been sent for by his master, to discover in what manner the money was lost, for which he, the Bramin, had been confined on his return from Tanjore: upon this, Poniapah advised him to accuse Gopinrauze, and to stick to that, that would do. Peramrauze was likewise examined, and his evidence coinciding with the declaration of the Bramin, in all the points of which the Bramin had declared him to have any knowledge, Poniapah was condemned. and some time after blown off from the muzzle of a cannon. He confessed nothing; his antipathy to Mahomed Issoof arose from his jealousy of the influence which this officer had obtained in the camp, by which his own importance was much diminished. This complicated treachery shews to what dangers the affairs of Europeans in Indostan may be exposed, by not having persons of their own nation sufficiently versed in the languages of India, to serve instead of the natives as interpreters.

The regent, in telling Poniapah that the maintenance of his army at Seringham had not distressed his finances, dissembled the truth; for his expences had been so great, that he could hardly find money to pay his own troops, and had none to satisfy the demands of the Morattoes. This Morari-row perceiving, began to tire of the war, and desirous of some plausible pretext to break with him, demanded to be paid his arrears, which by the account he made out, amounted to a

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1754 million of rupees; but the regent having never refused to supply him with money whenever he demanded it, thought he had already overpaid him. This occasioned some sharp altercations and Morari-row, as the shortest way to bring the regent to his terms, took all his Morattoes from Seringham, and encamped with them on the 11th of May to the north of the Coleroon, declaring that he would not return before the money was paid.

The next day, the 12th of May, a party of 120 Europeans, 500 Sepoys, and two field pieces, under the command of captain Calliaud, marched from the camp at four in the morning, intending to wait about two miles to the south of the sugar loaf rock, for a convoy of provisions which was ordered to advance out of the woods. The post in which the party intended to halt, had formerly been one of those reservoirs of water called tanks, which occur so frequently in the arid plains of this country, where that element is procured with so much difficulty. These tanks are generally dug square, the sides of some being 500 feet long, and of others not more than 100; with the earth taken out is formed a mound, which encloses the tank at the distance of forty feet from the margin of the water. The tank in which the party intended to take post was, through age and neglect, choaked up, but the mound remained. Mahomed Issoof riding at some distance before the advanced guard, was surprized as he ascended a little eminence by the neighing of his horse, who was immediately answered by the neighing of several others; proceeding, nevertheless, to reconnoitre, he discovered the French troopers posted behind a bank on the other side of the eminence, who immediately discharged their carbines at him, and then mounted. Captain Calliaud, on hearing the firing, formed his party, and rode up to the advanced guard, where he met Mahomed Issoof, who told him that the enemy were lying in wait to intercept the convoy, and that he believed a body of French troops had taken post in the tank where they themselves intended to halt; it was immediately determined to attack them. The day was just beginning to dawn; the troops were formed in one line, the Sepoys on the right, and the Europeans on the left; and Captain Calliaud concluding that the enemy would expect the attack in front, ordered

ordered the Sepoys, under the command of Mahomed Issoof, to 1754
wheel and attack them on the left, whilst he himself with the Europeans fell on their right flank. The onset was vigorously made by both divisions almost in the same instant, and the enemy finding themselves unexpectedly between two fires, abandoned the tank with precipitation; the English immediately took possession of it, and a little while after, day-light enabled them to discover that the numbers of the enemy were 250 Europeans, with four field pieces, 1000 Sepoys, and 4000 Mysore horse, who now divided into two bodies, one on each side of the tank, and began a smart cannonade, which was answered by the English field pieces. Major Lawrence was at this time so much indisposed, that he had the day before been obliged to go into the city; and captain Polier commanded in his absence, who no sooner heard the firing than he marched to the relief of the party with the rest of the army. The rest of the enemy's army at the same time crossed the Caveri, but the difference of the distance enabled the English to get to the tank some time before them: those of the enemy who were engaged with captain Calliaud's party, fearful of placing themselves between two fires, made no effort to intercept captain Polier's division; but contented themselves with cannonading them from the right and left as they advanced: a shot disabled one of his field pieces, and on his arrival at the tank he found that one of those with captain Calliaud had suffered the same misfortune; some time was spent in fixing these guns on spare carriages, during which the enemy's main body came up, and being joined by the rest of their troops, the whole now formed together within cannon shot to the right of the tank, their line extending a great way beyond it towards the city. Their numbers were 700 Europeans, fifty dragoons, 5000 Sepoys, and 10,000 horse, of which fortunately none were Morattoes. The English army consisted of no more than 360 men in battalion, 1500 Sepoys, and eleven troopers. However, encouraged by their officers, the men shewed no dismay at the superiority of the enemy's force, and prepared with great alacrity to fight their way back to the camp. The Europeans defiled first out of the tank into the plain, marching onward in a column, ready on the first occasion to face about to the enemy

1754 on the right. The Sepoys then followed in a line, which terminating in a right angle with the rear of the battalion, extended to the left of it. The French battalion relying on the superiority of their artillery, which were seven field pieces, did not come near enough to do much execution with their musketry; but their Sepoys moving into the rear of the English Sepoys, fired very smartly, and killed and wounded many of them, as well as some of the Europeans, amongst whom Captain Polier received a wound. However, the English troops proceeded without making a halt, until they took possession of another tank, situated about a mile from that which they had quitted. Just as they had got into this post, captain Polier received a second wound, which disabling him from farther service, he gave up the command to captain Calliaud. The enemy now seemed determined to let the English escape no farther; and threatened a general assault on the tank, for their Sepoys and cavalry drew up on three sides of it, whilst the French menaced the other. Major Lawrence, although very ill, ordered himself to be carried to the top of one of the city gates, and contemplating from thence the dispositions of both armies, trembled for the fate of his own; but it happened otherwise. The three English field pieces were brass six pounders, and capable of discharging a great quantity of grape shot; and the artillery men, with their usual dexterity and calmness, fired them with such vivacity and good aim as the French battalion advanced, that in a few minutes they struck down near a hundred men, which execution staggering the rest, their line halted, irresolute whether to proceed or retreat: captain Calliaud seized this instant, and sallying with all the Europeans, gave them a discharge of musketry so well levelled, that it immediately flung them into disorder, and breaking their ranks they ran away in great confusion: their officers endeavoured to rally them, but in vain, for they would not stop before they were out of the reach of cannon shot, and then could not be prevailed upon to return to the attack. The Sepoys and Mysore cavalry, who had been hitherto kept at bay by the English Sepoys, seeing their European allies retreating, immediately desisted from the engagement, and the whole retreated together by Weycondah to the island. The English contented with their success, which was indeed

deed greater than could have been expected, did not pursue, but continued their march quietly to the camp ; their loss was seven Europeans killed, and forty-eight, with six officers out of nine, wounded, and 150 Sepoys were either killed or wounded. The enemy suffered much more, having near 200 of their battalion, and 300 Sepoys killed or wounded. The convoy which had returned into the woods, receiving information of the enemy's retreat, set out again, and arrived the same night at the camp, which was in such want of provisions, that if the enemy had only taken the resolution of encamping near the ground where they had fought, the English army would have been obliged to march away the next day to Tanjore. 1754

The enemy reflecting with much vexation upon their disgrace, thought it necessary to perform some exploit which might re-establish their reputation : but thinking it desperate to attack the English in their camp, they determined to wreck their vengeance on the Polygar Tondiman, whose attachment to the English had alone enabled them to stand their ground at Tritchinopoly, so long after they could get no more provisions from the Tanjore country. Accordingly the second night after the engagement, M. Maissin with all his Europeans, 3000 Sepoys, and 2000 horse, marched into the Polygar's country, with an intention to commit every kind of ravage ; but the inhabitants alarmed, removed their effects, and drove their cattle into the thickest parts of their woods, where it was impossible to follow them, and the enemy found nothing but empty villages to burn, except at Killanore, where after dispersing the English Sepoys stationed there, they took three or four hundred bags of rice, and an iron gun. Vexed that they had with much fatigue been able to do very little mischief in this country, they resolved to fall on the dominions of the king of Tanjore, and plundering as they went, appeared before Kelli Cottah, which surrendered on the second day.

Major Lawrence not doubting but that the war thus unexpectedly carried into his country would convince the king of the necessity of acting again in conjunction with the English, determined to avail himself of the first impression which these hostilities might make

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1754 upon his mind, and prepared to march away to Tanjore. The guards at Elimiserum and the other out-posts were drawn off: 100 of the battalion were sent into the city to augment the garrison to 400 Europeans, and the rest of the army set out the 23d, at two in the morning, proceeding through Tondiman's woods.

Orders at the same time were sent directing the reinforcement which was waiting at Devi Cotah to march and join the army at Tanjore. The party which had been sent under the command of lieutenant Frazer to raise the siege of Palam Cotah, returned in the month of January to Devi Cotah, from whence another was sent in the month of February to make an incursion into the districts of Chillambrum, where the French had just collected a very large harvest of rice: this detachment consisted of thirty Europeans, and 200 Sepoys, commanded by a volunteer of no experience. They destroyed and set fire to a great quantity of grain, which they found piled up in stacks in the fields; but hearing that the enemy's principal magazine was at Manarcoile, a pagoda, twelve miles south-west from Chillambrum, they marched against the place, and summoned the French serjeant who commanded in it. The man perceiving that they had no battering cannon, answered their summons by a defiance. The English officer believing, nevertheless, that he should by the fire of his musketry alone oblige the garrison to surrender, remained before the place, making some very aukward and insufficient dispositions to reduce it. The French garrison at Chillambrum apprized of this by the serjeant, marched and came upon them by surprize, and the serjeant sallying at the same time with 100 Sepoys, the party was entirely routed, and the officer, with nine of his Europeans, were made prisoners. The detachment, under the command of captain Pigou, arriving soon after this at Devi Cotah, deterred the enemy for some time from committing any hostilities in this part of the country; but finding at length that these troops, whilst waiting for orders to march to Tritchinopoly, did not venture to make any incursions into their territories, Mr. Dupleix re-assumed his intentions of reducing Palam Cotah; and in the end of April, a party consisting of eight hundred Sepoys and seventy Europeans, with three pieces.

pieces of battering cannon, and some field pieces, appeared before the place; the Governor immediately applied for assistance to the company's agent at Devi Cotah: some time was lost in debating whether the troops intended for the re-inforcement of the army at Tritchinopoly ought to be exposed on this service: but, at length, exact intelligence being received of the enemy's numbers, it was concluded that they could run no risque in attacking them; and they marched, accompanied by five hundred Sepoys. Early the next morning they arrived within four miles of Palam Cotah; when the enemy, discovering them, immediately spiked up their heavy cannon, blew up and threw into ponds and wells all their ammunition, and marched away towards Chillambrum. Five hundred Sepoys were detached with orders to harrass them until the main body should come up; but they had so much the start, and continued their march with such precipitation, that the pursuit was vain. Two days after a report prevailed that the Morattoes who had entered the kingdom of Tanjore, intended to intercept the English troops in their return to Devi Cotah; to prevent which they immediately quitted Palam Cotah. The French at Chillambrum hearing of their departure, marched out in hopes of gaining some advantage over them in the retreat; and their advanced guard of Sepoys came up before the first division had crossed the Coleroon; ensign Richard Smith, with the rear guard of three hundred Sepoys, was ordered to make head against them, and kept them at a distance until the rest had gained the other bank; but as soon as he began to retreat with rear guard, the enemy, now augmented to the number of one thousand Sepoys, pressed hard upon him, and the freshes of the Coleroon happening to descend at this time, the river was risen so much since the first division began to cross, that it was now scarcely fordable: the rear, however, having no other resource, determined to cross it at all events, and were all the while exposed to the enemy's fire from the thickets which covered the bank, by which twenty men were wounded, and some of the shortest size were drowned in the stream. A few days after his return to Devi Cotah, captain Pigou received orders from major Lawrence to proceed to Tanjore. 1754

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1754 The major pursuing his march through the woods, was met the day after his departure from Tritchinopoly by the Polygar Tondiman, whom he received with the respect due to his fidelity and attachment to the English cause. The same day likewise came an express from the king of Tanjore, fraught with compliments for the resolution which the major had taken to come to his assistance, and pressing him to hasten his march. Indeed what had just happened in his country rendered the major's approach every day more and more welcome. From Kelli Cotah the enemy went to Coiladdy, which having taken on the 24th, they immediately cut through the great bank, which preventing the waters of the Caveri from running into the channel of the Coleroon, may be called the bulwark of the fertility of the Tanjore country.

This, therefore, was the greatest mischief they could do to that nation, and struck them with so much consternation, that the king thinking it necessary to shew some appearance of vigour, ordered his uncle Gauderow to march with 1500 horse to Tricatopoly, and punish the enemy; but this unwary general was surprized the next day by an enemy he did not expect. The Nabob, during the course of the war, had made several proposals to induce Morari-row to return to his own country, but the exorbitance of the demands on one side, and the distress for money on the other, had hitherto been insurmountable obstacles to the conclusion of the treaty. The same causes having now separated the Morattoes from the Mysoreans, the Nabob entertained hopes that he should get rid of this dangerous enemy without expence. But Morari-row lay at Pitchandah, brooding schemes, and determined not to depart before he had got a certain sum of money from one or other of the contending parties, and perhaps from both. The march of Gauderow to Tricatopoly, instantly suggested to him that a severe blow struck upon these troops by the Morattoes would infallibly induce the king of Tanjore, already terrified by the incursions of the French and Mysoreans, to furnish the money necessary to purchase his retreat; if disappointed in this expectation, he at least would have the satisfaction of taking vengeance for the severe blow which the Morattoes had sustained from

Monac-gee in the beginning of the year. Animated by the double 1754 motive of interest and revenge, he crossed the two rivers in the night with 3000 of his best troops, who fell at day-break upon Gauderow's party so furiously that only 300 with their general escaped; the rest were all either killed, or taken prisoners. Two days after this defeat, the English arrived at Tanjore, where they were joined by the detachment from Devi Cotah, of 150 Europeans, and 500 Sepoys, under the command of captain Pigou. Major Lawrence being at this time much indisposed, deputed captain Calliaud to act in conjunction with Mr. Palk in the conferences with the king on the measures necessary to be taken.

They found that although the late misfortunes had convinced the king of his imprudence in withdrawing his assistance from the English, as well as in displacing his general Monac-gee, they had not weaned him from his affection to Succo-gee, whose counsels had brought such distress upon himself and his country. Seeking, as irresolute minds generally do, to reconcile incompatibilities, he wanted to employ the general without removing his mortal enemy the minister. However, finding that the dismission of Succo-gee was the only condition on which the English would accept of his alliance, and hearing at the same time that they daily expected considerable reinforcements, such as might enable them to carry on the war without him, he at length consented to banish Succo-gee from his presence and councils, and not only reinstated Monac-gee in the command of the army, but likewise appointed him prime minister. Mr. Palk and captain Calliaud, to secure the king from a relapse, insisted that the disgraced minister should immediately quit the kingdom, and he departed with his family, giving out that he was going to visit some famous pagoda at a great distance, the usual pretext of such great men of the Indian religion, who think it necessary to retreat from danger, or are obliged to retire from power. This change, so essential to the interests of the Nabob and the East-India company, was effected within seven days after the arrival of the army at Tanjore, and Monac-gee received his commission from the king in ceremony on the 7th of June, and immediately began to levy new troops to

1754 repair the loss which the Tanjorine army had lately sustained; but a it required some time to collect the recruits, major Lawrence request ed the presidency to hasten the junction of Maphuze Khan, and c the reinforcements which were arrived at Madrass from Bombay an Europe; so that the whole might march from Tanjore to Tritchi nopoly in one body.

Accordingly a detachment of 400 men in battalion, half Euro peans and half Topasses, together with 500 Sepoys, marched to joi Maphuze Khan at Conjeveram, and from thence to proceed with hi to Tanjore. This man, as fond of being at the head of a body c troops as he was incapable of employing them to any good purpos shewed no inclination to quit the country about Arcot, giving for reason that Abdulwahab Khan had failed to advance the money ne cessary to satisfy his troops. Under this pretext he moved up an down the country, levying contributions from such forts and polyga as were not strong enough to resist him. At length receivin assurances from the presidency that they would furnish him wit money, provided he would march immediately to the southward, l set up his standard at Conjeveram in the month of May; and assure them that he would proceed without delay; but Mr. Dupleix we acquainted with his character, confounded this resolution, by orderin the garrison of Gingee, with some other troops, to take the fiel This body, although much inferior to Maphuze Khan's force, fright ened him so much that he declared he could not proceed unless l was joined by a detachment of Europeans: in the mean time tl enemy, encouraged by his imbecility, advanced from Gingee, and too the fort of Outramaloor, which lays about 20 miles nearly west fro Sadrass, and flushed by this success they proceeded to another fo still nearer to Conjeveram; but ensign Pichard, who had now joine Maphuze Khan with a platoon of Europeans, prevailed upon him t march against the enemy, who on their approach retreated to Outra maloor; ensign Pichard finding Maphuze Khan not a little elated wit this acknowledgment of his superiority, persuaded him to follo them, and attack the fort, which being in a ruinous condition, a ge neral assault was given, which succeeded, and the enemy ran away in

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panick to Gingee, where they shut themselves up. This success, 1751
nevertheless, did not induce Maphuze Khan to proceed as he had promised to Tritchinopoly; but he returned to Conjeveram with a resolution not to quit it again until he had received the money he had so often demanded. The presidency finding he was not to be influenced by any other motive, paid him 50,000 rupees, and agreed to pay as much more after he had crossed the Coleroon; this and the junction of the large detachment sent to accompany him, left him without any farther pretences for delay, and he began his march from Conjeveram in the beginning of July.

Morari-row returning, after the victory he had gained over Gaude-row, to his camp on the other side of the Coleroon, pursued the rest of his scheme, writing to the Nabob, who was then just arrived at Tanjore, that if he would give him security for the payment of 300,000 rupees, he would return to his own country, and never more be an enemy either to him the English, or the Tanjorines. The Nabob having no money, applied, as the Morattoe had foreseen, to the King of Tanjore, who after many meetings consented to furnish it, and the articles were drawn up and signed, stipulating that 50,000 rupees should be paid as soon as the Morattoes arrived at Volcondah, 100,000 more when they came to the pass of the western mountains, and the remaining 150,000 when they arrived in their own country. Whilst this transaction was carrying on at Tanjore, Morari-row acquainted the regent of Mysore that he was in treaty with the Nabob, but offered if the Mysorean would pay him the arrears he had so often demanded to return to his assistance: the regent sent him what money he could spare, about 50,000 rupees, which the Morattoe no sooner received than he marched away with all his troops to Volcondah, and in the beginning of July left the province and went to his own country, which lays about 130 miles north-east from Arcot. Here Morari-row, after he surrendered Tritchinopoly to Nizam-al-muluck in 1746, was permitted to erect a principality, dependant indeed on the Soubah of the Decan, but independant of his own nation: as all new states are conducted with more vigour and attention than such as have been long established, he soon made himself admired and

1754 respected by his neighbours, enlisting none of his countrymen but such as were of approved valour, and treating them so well, that they never entertained any thoughts of quitting him: on the contrary the whole army seemed as one family; the spirit of exploit which he contrived to keep up amongst them by equitable partitions of plunder rendered them fond of their fatigues, and they never complained but when they had nothing to do. The choice he made of his officers still more discovered his capacity; for there was not a commander of 100 horse who was not fit to command the whole; notwithstanding which every one was contented in his particular station, and they all lived in perfect harmony with each other, and in perfect obedience to their general. So that this body of troops were without exception the best soldiers of native Indians at this time in Indostan. Besides the qualities common to the rest of the Morattoe nation, such as activity, stratagem, great dexterity in the management of their horses and sabres, they had by their conflicts against Europeans surmounted in a great degree the terror of fire-arms, although opposed to them with the steadiest discipline; and what is more extraordinary, were even capable of standing against the vivacity of a cannonade from field pieces: although this terrible annoyance, never made use of in India before the war we are commemorating, continued to strike all other Indian troops with as much terror as their ancestors felt when regular musketry was first employed against them.

Immediately after the departure of the English army, the garrison of Tritchinopoly received two or three convoys from the woods, upon which the enemy crossed the Caveri, and encamped on the plain first at Chucklypollam, and afterwards to the south of the city changing their camp several times, between Elimiserum and the five rocks: their patroles constantly traversing this line rendered it impossible for the Sepoys at Killanore to pass with any more provisions and the garrison were obliged to live on their stock, which with sparing management might last for three months. More than one had already elapsed before the treaty with the Morattoes was concluded at Tanjore; after which major Lawrence, anxious to return, pressed Monac-gee to march. Few of the generals of India have any notic

of the value of time in military operations, and Monac-gee either pretended or found such difficulties in recruiting his cavalry, that he declared he could not be ready before the end of July. Wearied with these delays, and hoping that such a mark of his impatience would excite the Tanjorines to follow him, major Lawrence, accompanied by the Nabob, marched away with the English troops from Tanjore on the 22d, and encamped at Atchempettah, a town in the woods belonging to the Colleries, about twelve miles west from Tanjore: five days after Monac-gee set up his standard and joined him with the Tanjorine army; but he now declared that his troops would be greatly dissatisfied if they proceeded any farther before Maphuze Khan with the reinforcement that accompanied him came up. The Nabob likewise pressing major Lawrence to wait for those troops, he much against his will consented, but obliged Monac-gee to collect a quantity of provisions sufficient to replace what should be consumed by the English troops in the field and in Tritchinopoly, during the delay occasioned by this resolution. 1754

At this time a revolution, little expected by any one in India, happened in the government of Pondicherry. The directors of the English East India company had in the preceding year, made representations to the ministry of Great Britain, on the hostilities in which they were involved on the coast of Coromandel, and sollicited the support of the government either to terminate or carry on a war, which their own resources were little able to continue against the French company, strongly supported by the administration of France. The British ministry soon conceived the necessity of interfering vigorously, to stop the ambitious projects of Mr. Dupleix, and began a negotiation with the French ministry on the subject. Mr. Duvelaer, a director of the French company, together with his brother the count de Lude, who had both of them resided for many years in the East Indies, were deputed from Paris, to treat with the ministry in London, and had frequent conferences with the earl of Holdernesse, at that time one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, who by much application and frequent enquiries from all persons capable of giving true information, had gained an extensive knowledge of the

1754 the subject; however intricate and little understood. This minister finding that the French endeavoured as usual, to gain time under the pretence of negotiating, pervailed on the king to order a squadron of men of war to be equipped, on board of which a regiment was to be embarked for the East Indies. This vigorous resolution convinced the French administration, that a perseverance in their schemes of making conquests, and obtaining dominions in Indostan, would soon involve the two nations in a general war; for which France was in no wise prepared: and they consented that the disputes of the two companies should be adjusted by commissaries in India, on a footing of equality; without any regard to the advantages which either the one or the other might be in possession of, at the time when the treaty should be concluded. It now remained only to choose such commissaries, as would implicitly fulfil these intentions, and the French themselves, were so fully convinced that Mr. Dupleix, was not a man fit to be trusted with a commission, which contradicted so strongly every part of his conduct since the beginning of the war of Coromandel, that they foresaw the English ministry would suspect the good faith of every pacific profession they had lately made, if they should offer to nominate Mr. Dupleix a commissary to adjust the terms of peace. Having therefore no alternative, they of their own accord, and without any application from the English ministry, took the resolution of removing him from the government of Pondicherry; and appointed Mr. Godeheu, a director of the French company, their commissary to negotiate the peace, and at the same time commander general, with absolute authority over all their settlements in the East Indies. The English company empowered Mr. Saunders, and some other members of the council of Madrass, to treat with Mr. Godeheu.

On the 1st of August, Mr. Dupleix received advice of these resolutions, and the next day, a ship anchored at Pondicherry with Mr. Godeheu on board. He landed immediately, proclaimed his commission, and took upon him the administration of the government; which Mr. Dupleix resigned to him with the same affectation of composure and serenity, that he had always shewn on every other disappointment or reverse of fortune. By this reasonable conduct, he preserved himself from an ignominy which was ready to be exer-

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cised upon him, in case he had proved refractory, for Mr. Godeheu was furnished with one of those orders signed by the king, which supersedes all forms of the French laws and jurisprudence, by declaring the person against whom it is directed a criminal of state, and renders all other persons guilty of high treason, who refuse to assist in carrying the mandate into execution. His successor Mr. Godeheu not having occasion to make use of this extremity of his power, treated him with much respect, and even permitted him to continue the exhibition of those marks of Moorish dignity, which both Murzafa-jing, and Sallabad-jing, had permitted him to display, when they appointed him Nabob of the Carnatic. These were of various flags and ensigns, various instruments of military music, particular ornaments, for his palankeen, a Moorish dress distinguished likewise with ornaments peculiar to the Nabobship; and in this equipage, he went with great solemnity to dine with Mr. Godeheu on the feast of St. Louis. 1754

Mr. Godeheu immediately on his arrival acquainted Mr. Saunders of the intentions for which he was sent to India; and as a proof of his earnestness to accomplish them, sent back to Madrass the company of Swiss soldiers which Mr. Dupleix had made prisoners as they were going in Massoolas from Madrass to Fort St. David in the beginning of the preceding year. The two governors entered into a correspondence, and both seemed desirous of agreeing to a suspension of arms, but until it should be concluded they seemed attentive to lose no advantage which might be gained in the field.

The orders sent to hasten Maphuz Khan found him after many unnecessary delays just arrived at Fort St. David, with no inclination to proceed any farther. This indeed now scarcely depended on his own choice, for his troops, grown refractory from their conviction of his incapacity, refused to march before they received more money; notwithstanding the presidency had paid 50,000 rupees when they set out, and the remaining 50,000 was not due before they crossed the Coleroon; but major Lawrence having no expectation of essential service from such troops with such a commander, thought it unnecessary to waste either more time or money to procure their assistance, and ordered the detachment of Europeans to leave them behind.

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1754 On the 14th of August the detachment arrived at Atchempettah, and the next day the whole army was reviewed in presence of the Nabob and Monac-gee. The English troops consisted of 1200 men in battalion, part of them Topasses, with 3000 Sepoys, and 14 field pieces: the Tanjorines were 2500 cavalry, and 3000 infantry mostly armed with muskets, and they had with them some pieces of cannon: the Nabob had only his guard of fifty horse. On the 16th the army marched and encamped at Natal-pettah, a village in the woods, six miles to the east of Elimiserum, and proceeding the next day, entered the plain about a mile to the south-east of this place, intending to pass between the sugar loaf and the French rocks. The enemy, informed by scouts of their approach, marched from their camp at the five rocks to oppose their passage.

A deep watercourse, supplied from the Caveri to the eastward of Chucklypollam, intersects the plain nearly at an equal distance between the French rock and Elimiserum, and strikes to the south of the sugar loaf rock; a large bank ran along that side of the watercourse which was nearest to the enemy, who by taking possession of this bank might have obliged major Lawrence either to have altered the course of his march, or to have engaged them under a very great disadvantage: but their commander, Mr. Maissin, for reasons not publickly avowed, neglected to avail himself of this advantage. The English army advancing close by Elimiserum in a direct line from thence to the city, perceived and were surprized at this neglect; and major Lawrence immediately ordered the advanced guard, consisting of 400 Sepoys, and 100 Europeans with two field pieces, to proceed briskly and secure that part of the bank and watercourse over which he intended to march. As they approached the enemy cannonaded them, but did nothing more; and the whole army soon after crossed the bank without interruption; after which they halted and formed in two lines, extending obliquely between the sugar loaf and the French rocks from the watercourse towards the city. The first line was composed entirely of the English troops; the battalion which the field pieces in the center, and the Sepoys on each wing: in the second line was the baggage, accompanied by the Tanjorine cavalry and Peons, with the

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rear guard of 100 Europeans, and 400 Sepoys : in this order they waited for the enemy, who were drawn up in a line parallel to them, at about the distance of a mile : their battalion having been reinforced the night before with 200 men, consisted of 900 Europeans, and 400 Topasses, who with their Sepoys were on the right near the sugar-loaf rock : the Mysore cavalry, about 10,000, extended so far to the left, that many of them were drawn up to the westward of the city : as their line approached the French advanced three field pieces, which cannonaded the left of the English line, but were soon silenced by a superior fire ; however, the enemy continued to advance until they came within cannon shot, when they were fired upon from ten pieces of cannon, which they answered with eight. The English fire was much hotter and better directed than the enemy's, and in a few rounds struck down more than fifty of the French battalion ; upon which the whole went suddenly to the right about, and marched away towards their camp at the five rocks, in the same order as they had advanced. Major Lawrence preparing to follow them received intelligence that his convoy was exposed to a danger which demanded his whole attention : the rear guard by some mistake quitted their station during the cannonade, and formed upon the right of the first line, and Monac-gee likewise quitted the convoy, and drew up the Tanjorine cavalry in a separate body at a distance, in order to prevent the Mysoreans from falling upon the right flank of the army and baggage. Hidernaig, the best officer of the Mysoreans, happened to be in this part of the plain, and seeing the baggage left without protection, ordered some of his troops to amuse the Tanjorines in front, whilst he himself with another body galloped round the French rock, and fell upon the rear of the convoy, amongst which they created no small confusion, and seized thirty-five carts, some of them laden with arms and ammunition, and others with baggage belonging to the English officers. Major Lawrence, as soon as he discovered the mistakes which had given rise to this disorder, directed the rear guard to march back to their station ; but before they arrived the enemy were gone off with their booty towards Chuckly-pollam. A party of 500 Topasses and Sepoys, with two guns, had crossed the Caveri, and were advancing at this time from

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1754 Seringham to take possession of the French rock, which being perceived by captain Kilpatrick, he sallied with a part of his garrison and cannonaded them so briskly that they retreated in great confusion to the island. Some time was spent in re-assembling the scattered bullocks and coolies : after which the army continued their march and encamped near the walls to the south of the city. Eight Europeans were killed by the cannonade, and amongst them captain Pigou an officer of promising hopes, whose death was much lamented ; near 100 of the French battalion were killed and wounded ; but the irresolution and faintness of their behaviour this day was not imputed so much to want of courage, as to orders, which it was supposed their commander Mr. Massin had received, to avoid a general engagement.

The stock of provisions brought with the army were deposited in the city for the use of the garrison, and major Lawrence determined to get supplies for his camp as usual from Tanjore and Tondiman's country ; but as it was necessary to drive the enemy from the plain before this could be effected with facility, he moved on the 20th of August to the Facquire's Tope, hoping to provoke them to fight. This motion produced a different but a better effect, for at noon they set fire to their camp, and retreated to Moota Chellinour, opposite to the head of the island. In the evening Monac-gee, with the Tanjorines, invested Elimiserum, where the enemy had a guard of 150 Sepoys, and thirteen Europeans, with one piece of cannon ; which after very little resistance surrendered on the 22d ; and a garrison of 100 English Sepoys, with a few artillery men were left to secure it.

Major Lawrence finding that the enemy shewed no inclination to quit Moota Chellinoor, marched from the Facquire's Tope on the 1st of September, and encamped nearer to them, to the north-west of Warriore pagodas. They had made an inundation on each flank of their camp ; the Caveri was in their rear ; and they had flung up works and mounted cannon to defend their front, which was accessible only by one road leading through rice fields covered with water. Notwithstanding the advantages of this situation, they had not courage to continue in it ; but suspecting that the English intended to attack them they crossed the river in the night, and retreated to Seringham. The English took possession of the post they had abandoned,

doned, and finding that they had done much mischief to the water- 1754
courses which from this place supply the ditches and reservoirs of Tritchinopoly, they employed some days in repairing them; after which major Lawrence, in compliance with a promise he had made to the king of Tanjore, detached Monac-gee with the Tanjorine troops, accompanied by a party of 220 Europeans, 600 Sepoys, and two field-pieces, under the command of captain Joseph Smith, to Coiladdy, in order to protect the coolies employed there in repairing the great bank which the enemy had ruined in the month of May. The rainy season being now set in, the rest of the English battalion and Sepoys went into cantonments in Warriore pagodas, on the 13th of September.

At this time a squadron, under the command of admiral Watson consisting of three ships, of 60, 50, and 20 guns, with a sloop, as also several of the company's ships, arrived on the coast, having on board the 49th regiment of 700 men, under the command of colonel Adlercron, with 40 of the king's artillery men, and 200 recruits for the company's troops. The French likewise had received during this season, 1200 men, of which number 600 were a body of hussars, under the command of Fitscher, a partizan of some reputation; but the rest were only raw recruits: so that both sides now were able to bring into the field an equal force of about 2000 Europeans; but the English troops were in quality so much superior to the French, that if this long and obstinately contested war had now rested on the decision of the sword, there is no doubt but that the French would soon have been reduced to ask for peace on much less advantageous terms than the presidency of Madrass were obliged to accede to, in obedience to the orders they now received from Europe. Mr. Godeheu himself was sensible of this disparity, and dreading at the same the advantages which the English might derive from their squadron, he shewed a moderation in his proposals sufficient to induce Mr. Saunders to agree to a suspension of arms, before the terms of the treaty were adjusted.

The allies on both sides were included in this suspension, which was proclaimed at Madrass, Pondicherry, Tritchinopoly, and in all other places on the coast of Coromandel, where the English and

1754 French had troops, on the 11th of October; from this day it was to continue until the 11th of January. As soon as it was proclaimed, major Lawrence, who now received a commission appointing him to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the king's service, quitted Tritchinopoly and came to Madrass, where he was presented by the president, in the name of the company, with a sword enriched with diamonds, as a token of their acknowledgment of his military services. These distinctions, however, did not countervail his sense of the neglect which had been shewn him, by sending colonel Adlercron, an officer of superior rank, to command the English troops in India.

The two armies at Tritchinopoly, whilst remaining in expectation of the suspension of arms, had attempted nothing decisive against each other since the French retreated to the island. The French indeed detached a strong party to cannonade the workmen repairing the great bank at Coiladdy; and these troops appeared several times in sight of captain Smith's detachment, but were by the vigilance of this officer prevented from giving any interruption to the work: some other parties likewise molested the coolies repairing the watercourses at Moota Chellinoor, but they desisted as soon as Mahomed Issoof, with six companies of Sepoys were stationed there. In other parts of the province very few disturbances had happened since Maphuze Khan had marched from Conjeveram to Fort St. David, where he still remained. The Phousdar of Velore, soon after he released captain Smith in April, made overtures, offering to acknowledge Mahomed-ally; upon which the presidency of Madrass gave him in writing a promise of their protection so long as he conformed to the allegiance due from him to the Nabob; and Abdul-wahab the Nabob's brother, made a treaty with him on the same occasion.

In the beginning of the year 1754, Sallabad-jing accompanied by Mr. Bussy and the French troops took the field to oppose the Morattoe Ragogee Bonsola, who as he had threatened, had began to ravage the north-eastern parts of the Soubahship. No details of this campaign, any more than of the others in which Mr. Bussy has acted, are hitherto published, and all we know from more private communication is, that the army of Sallabad-jing and his allies advanced as far as Nagpore the capital of Ragogee, near which, after many skirmishes,

1754 mishes, a peace was concluded in the month of April; and at the end of May Mr. Bussy came to Hyderabad, resolving to proceed into the newly acquired provinces, in which Mr. Moracin had, although not without difficulty and opposition, established the authority of his nation. Jaffer-ally, who had for some years governed Rajahmundrum, and Chicacole, when summoned, resolved not to resign them; and finding Vizeramrauze, the most powerful Rajah of these countries, with whom he was then at war, in the same disposition with himself, he not only made peace, but entered into a league with the Rajah; and both agreed to oppose the French with all their force: in consequence of which treaty they applied for support to the English factory at Vizagapatnam, as also to the presidency of Madrass; the English encouraged them in their resolution, but were too much occupied in the Carnatic to furnish the succours they demanded. The interests of the Indian princes and Moorish governors perpetually clashing with one another, and with the interest of the Mogul, will perhaps always prevent the empire of Indostan from coercing the ambitious attempts of any powerful European nation, when not opposed by another of equal force; much less will any particular principality in India be able to withstand such an invader. Mr. Moracin, not having troops enough at Masulipatnam, to reduce the united forces of the Rajah and Jaffer-ally, made overtures to Vizeramrauze, offering to farm out to him the countries of Rajahmundrum and Chicacole at a lower rate than they had ever been valued at. Such a temptation was perhaps never resisted by any prince in Indostan, and Jaffer-ally finding himself abandoned by his ally, quitted his country full of indignation, and determined to take refuge with Ragogee, who was at that time fighting with Sallabad-jing and Mr. Bussy: travelling with this intention to the westward he fell in with a large body of Morattoes, commanded by the son of Ragogee, whom he easily prevailed upon to make an incursion into the Chicacole countries over the mountains, which till this time were deemed impassable by cavalry; but a Polygar, who had been driven out of his territory by the Rajah, and accompanied the Nabob in his flight, undertook to conduct them through

1754 through defiles and passes known to very few except himself. The Morattoes under this guide entered the province of Chicacole, whilst the Rajah thinking such an inroad impossible, lay negligently encamped near his capital; were falling upon him by surprize, they gained an easy victory over his troops, and the Rajah hurried away to Masulipatnam, to demand assistance from the French. In the mean time the Morattoes carried fire and sword through the province, and more particularly directed their ravages against his patrimonial territory. Amongst other depredations they burnt the Dutch factory of Bimlapatnam, in which they found several chests of treasure; but they offered no violence to the English factory of Vizagapatnam. Mr. Moracin immediately detached all the force he had, about 150 Europeans, and 2500 Sepoys, to join the Rajah's army, who now marched against the enemy; but the Morattoes kept in separate parties out of his reach, until they had got as much plunder as they could find means to carry away; which having sent forward with a considerable escort, they, in order to secure their booty from pursuit, marched with their main body and offered Vizeramrauze battle. The fight was maintained irregularly for several hours, but with courage on both sides: the Morattoes, however, at last gave way before the French artillery: they nevertheless remained some days longer in the neighbourhood, until they heard that their convoy was out of reach of danger; when they suddenly decamped, crossed the Godaveri at a ford which they had discovered, and passing through the province of Elore, coasted the northern mountains of Condavir, until they got out of the French territories, who rather than expose their provinces to a second ravage by opposing their retreat, suffered them to proceed without interruption through several difficult passes where they might easily have been stopped. In the month of July Mr. Bussy came from Hyderabad to Masulipatnam, from whence he went to the city of Rajahmundrum, and settled the government of his new acquisitions, in which the French were now acknowledged sovereigns, without a rival or competitor; for the Morattoes, content with the plunder they had gotten, shewed no farther inclination to assist Jaffer-ally Khan in the recovery of his governments; who having no other resource left, flung

flung himself upon the clemency of Salabad-jing, and went to Aurengabad, where he made his submission. 1754

As soon as the suspension of arms was declared in the Carnatic, Mr. Watson, with the squadron, left the coast, in order to avoid the stormy monsoon, and proceeded to Bombay. In the end of December commodore Pocock arrived at Madrass with a reinforcement of two men of war, one of 70, and one of 60 guns. By this time Mr. Saunders and Mr. Godeheu had adjusted, as far as their powers extended, the terms which were to restore tranquillity to the Carnatic.

They were only impowered to make a conditional treaty, which was not to be deemed definitive until it had received the approbation of the two companies in Europe, who had reserved to themselves the power of annulling or altering the whole or any part of it. This conditional treaty stipulated as a basis, that the two companies were for ever to renounce all Moorish government and dignity ; were never to interfere in any differences that might arise between the princes of the country ; and that all places, excepting such as should be stipulated to remain in the possession of each company, were to be delivered up to the government of Indostan. The governors then proceeded to give their opinion what places each might retain without a risque of engaging them in future wars, either with one another, or with the princes of the country. In the Tanjore country the English were to possess Devi Cotah, the French, Karical, with the districts they at that time held : on the coast of Coromandel the English were to possess Madrass and Fort St. David ; the French, Pondicherry, with districts of equal value ; and if it should appear that the English possessions in the kingdom of Tanjore and in the Carnatic together, were of more value than the French possessions in those countries, then the French were to be allowed an equivalent for this difference in a settlement to be chosen between the river of Gondecama and Nizampatnam : districts near Masulipatnam were to be ascertained of equal value with the island of Divi, and of these districts and the island a partition was to be made as the two nations could agree in the choice : to the northward of the districts of Masulipatnam, in the Rajamundrum and Chicacole countries, each nation were to have four or five subordinate factories, or simple houses of trade, without territorial revenues, chosen

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1754 so as not to interfere with one another. Upon these conditions a truce was to take place between them and their allies, on the coast of Coromandel, until the answers should be received from Europe concerning this convention. Both nations obliged themselves, during the truce, not to procure any new grant or cession from the princes of the country, nor to build forts; but they were permitted to repair such fortifications as were at this time in their possession. Neither were to proceed to any cessions, retrocessions, or evacuations, until a definitive treaty should be concluded in Europe, at which time were to be settled the indemnifications which each was to receive for the expences incurred by the war.

The truce to which this conditional treaty gave birth, specified that if either of the European nations committed any acts of hostility, or incroached upon the possessions of the other, commissaries were to be appointed to examine and adjust the dispute; but if the Indian allies of either side committed violences against either of the two nations, both were to unite in repulsing them: it was likewise agreed to proceed to an exchange of prisoners as far as the number taken by the French extended; this was only 250, whereas the English had 900.

This convention was in reality nothing more than a cessation of hostilities for eighteen months; since there was no positive obligation on either of the companies to adopt the opinions of their representatives expressed in the conditional treaty. In the mean time the French were left to enjoy, without interruption, the revenues of all the territories which they had acquired during the war. These incomes, according to the accounts published by themselves, were, from Karical in the kingdom of Tanjore, 96,000 rupees; from the eighty villages in the district of Pondicherry, 105,000; from Masulipatnam with its dependencies, from the island of Divi, Nizampatnam, Devrecottah, and Condavir, all contiguous territories, 1,441,000; from the four provinces of Elore, Mustapha Nagar, Rajahmundrum, and Chicacole, 3,100,000; from lands in the Carnatic, to the south of the river Paliar; 1,700,000; from the island of Seringham and its dependencies, which Mahomed-ally had given up to the Mysoreans when they came to his assistance, and which the

the Mysoreans now gave to the French, 400,000; in all 6,842,000 1754
rupees, equal to 855,000 pounds sterling.

The accessions which the English had made during the war to the usual incomes of their settlements on the coast of Coromandel, were no more than 800,000 rupees, drawn annually from lands lying to the north of the Paliar, mortgaged by the Nabob to reimburse the great sum of money they had defrayed on his account in military expences. It was therefore evident that no motive of ambition had induced them to carry on this war: on the contrary, the continuance of it was deemed, and perhaps with reason, incompatible with the existence of the company; otherwise it would be impossible either to account for, or excuse the conduct of the directors, by whose orders the presidency of Madrass was obliged to conclude a truce on such precarious and unequal terms as would enable the French to recommence the war with double strength, if the conditional treaty were not accepted by their ministry in Europe; who for this very reason might be strongly tempted to reject it. However the English kept one advantage in their power, by not releasing 650 prisoners whom they had taken during the war more than the French had taken from them; and they derived another advantage of the greatest consequence, by the removal of Mr. Dupleix from the government of Pondicherry. He departed on his voyage to Europe on the 14th of October, having first delivered his accounts with the French company to Mr. Godeheu, by which it appeared that he had disbursed on their account near three millions of rupees more than he had received during the course of the war. A great part of this sum was furnished out of his own estate, and the rest from monies which he borrowed at interest from the French inhabitants at Pondicherry, upon bonds given in his own name. Mr. Godeheu referred the discussion of these accounts to the directors of the company in France, who pretending that Mr. Dupleix had made these expences without sufficient authority, refused to pay any part of the large balance he asserted to be due to him: upon which he commenced a law-suit against the company; but the ministry interfered and put a stop to the proceedings, by the king's authority, without entering into any discussion of Mr. Dupleix's claims, or taking any measures to satisfy them.

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1754 However, they gave him letters of protection to secure him from being prosecuted by any of his creditors. So that his fortune was left much less than that which he was possessed of before he entered upon the government of Pondicherry in 1742. His conduct certainly merited a very different requital from his nation, which never had a subject so desirous and capable of extending its reputation and power in the East-Indies; had he been supplied with the forces he desired immediately after the death of Anwar-o-dean Khan, or had he afterwards been supported from France in the manner necessary to carry on the extensive projects he had formed, there is no doubt but that he would have placed Chundasaheb in the Nabobship of the Carnatic, given law to the Soubah of the Decan, and perhaps to the throne of Delhi itself, and have established a sovereignty over many of the most valuable provinces of the empire; armed with which power he would easily have reduced all the other European settlements to such restrictions as he might think proper to impose: it is even probable that his ambition did not stop here, but that he intended to expel all other Europeans out of Indostan, and afterwards from all other parts of the East-Indies, for he was known often to say, that he would reduce the English settlements of Calcutta and Madrass to their original state of fishing towns. When we consider that he formed this plan of conquest and dominion at a time when all other Europeans entertained the highest opinion of the strength of the Mogul government, suffering tamely the insolence of its meanest officers, rather than venture to make resistance against a power which they chimerically imagined to be capable of overwhelming them in an instant, we cannot refrain from acknowledging and admiring the sagacity of his genius, which first discovered and despised this illusion. But military qualifications were wanting in his composition to carry effectually into execution projects which depended so much upon the success of military operations; for although sufficiently versed in the theory of war, he had not received from nature that firmness of mind, which is capable of contemplating instant and tumultuous danger with the serenity necessary to command an army; nor were there any officers at Pondicherry of sufficient abilities to oppose such as we have seen commanding the English

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forces; for as it was Mr. Dupleix's custom to remove the commander after a defeat, no less than six had been employed by him in this station with equal ill success since the beginning of the year 1752: the only man of distinguished capacity who served under him, was Mr. Bussy, and his conduct to this officer shewed that he knew the value of merit, and was capable of employing it to the utmost advantage; for although Mr. Bussy had by his expedition to the northward acquired much reputation, and a great fortune, he beheld his successes without the least envy, and implicitly followed his advice in all affairs of which Mr. Bussy, by his situation, might be a better judge than himself; from whence it may be presumed, that instead of persecuting he would have agreed as well with Mr. De la Bourdonnais, if this officer had come into India with a commission dependant on his authority; but his pride could not with patience see an equal pursuing schemes so different from his own, in a country where he was laying the foundation of so much greatness and reputation for himself. Here, therefore, envy obscured his understanding, and warped his mind to injustice: in his private life he is nevertheless acknowledged to have been friendly and generous to such as had any merit, without being implacably severe to those whose incapacity or misconduct disconcerted his schemes. The murder of Nazir-jing is the only act of atrocious iniquity which is imputed to him; but even in this no proofs have ever appeared that he either instigated the Pitan Nabobs, or concurred with them in planning the assassination of that prince. He no sooner quitted Pondicherry than the antipathy, which many had conceived against him, from the haughtiness and pride of his demeanor, subsided; and all his countrymen concurred in thinking that his dismission from the government of Pondicherry was the greatest detriment that could have happened to their interests in India. 1754

The treaties were published on the 11th of January, the day on which the former suspension of arms ended, and two days after Mr. Saunders quitted the government of Madrass, and proceeded to England. At the end of January Mr. Watson, with his squadron, arrived from Bombay at Fort St. David, having made the passage against a contrary monsoon, with almost as much expedition as if they had sailed at a favourable season of the year. In the beginning 1755

1755 of February Mr. Godeheu, having fulfilled the principal intentions of his commission, quitted Pondicherry and returned to France, leaving the power of the governor much more limited than it had been in the time of Mr. Dupleix. The two presidencies, now at peace with each other, gave their whole attention to manage their respective territories, revenues, and alliances, to the best advantage, without infringing the truce.

The Mysoreans could not be made to understand that they were no longer at liberty to commit hostilities against the English or the Nabob; and the regent, when advised by the French to return to his own country, said that he was under no obligation to regard any treaties that he had not made himself: that therefore he should never leave Seringham until he had got Tritchinopoly, which he did not despair of effecting even without their assistance: finding, however, that the French thought themselves obliged to acquaint the English of any schemes that he might put in practice for this purpose, he offered the commanding officer 300,000 rupees if he would retire with the French troops to Pondicherry, and leave him at liberty to carry on his projects without controul: the English, however, were under no apprehensions of the effects of them, and at the request of the Nabob a detachment of 500 Europeans and 2000 Sepoys were ordered to proceed into the countries of Madura and Tinivelly to assist in reducing them to his obedience. Maphuze Khan, who arrived at Tritchinopoly in the end ot December with 1000 horse, was appointed by the Nabob his represntative in those countries, and joined his troops to the English detachment; the Nabob himself likewise resolved to accompany them some part of the way.

This army, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Heron, an officer lately arrived from England, set out in the beginning of February from their cantonments at Warriore pagodas, and halted thirty miles to the south of Tritchinopoly, at a village called Manapar, where the Polygars of this part of the country had previously been ordered to send their agents to settle their accounts with the Nabob. The four principal Polygars obeyed the summons; and their agents gave obligations promising to pay the tributes that were due; but the Nabob knowing the deceitful character of these chiefs in general, desired that

that the army might remain at Manapar until the money was paid, 1755 and sent officers to collect it; who on their return reported that the Polygar Lachenaig, after paying a part, refused to pay the remainder. Upon this it was resolved to attack his country, and the army after marching ten miles to the south-west of Manapar, in the high road leading to Dindigul, came in sight of his woods, which lye about two miles to the west of that road.

The subjects of this, as well as of all the other Polygars in these southern parts of the peninsula, are Colleries, a people differing in many respects from the rest of the Indians, and hitherto little known to Europeans; they sally in the night from their recesses and strongholds to plunder the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages of their cattle, which if they cannot bring away alive, they kill with their long spears: by constant practice in these exploits they acquire so much dexterity and audacity that they will for hire undertake to steal and bring off a horse even from the center of a camp; they are so far from thinking it a disgrace to be accounted thieves, that they value themselves upon excelling in the profession, and relate to strangers stories of desperate and successful thefts accomplished by their countrymen, with as much complacence as other people commemorate the heroic actions of their ancestors; and indeed when booty is the object, they regard danger and death with indifference, of which the English officers themselves saw a very striking example, whilst they were besieging the French and Chundasaheb in Seringham. Of the party of Colleries employed at that time by the English to steal the enemy's horses; two brothers were taken up and convicted of having stolen, at different times, all the horses belonging to major Lawrence and captain Clive; the prisoners did not deny the fact; but being told that they were to be hanged, one of them offered to go and bring back the horses in two days, whilst the other remained in prison, provided that both should be pardoned. This proposal being agreed to, one of them was released; but not appearing in the stipulated time, major Lawrence ordered the other Collery to be brought before him, and asked him the reason why his brother had not returned, bidding the prisoner prepare for death if the horses were not produced before the next evening; to this the Collery with great composure replied, that he was surprized the English should be so weak as

1755 as to imagine that either he or his brother ever had any intentions of restoring so valuable a booty, which would make the fortunes of their whole family; seeing they had it in their power to retain it, at no greater expence than his single life, which had often been hazarded for a single meal: he added, that the English could not blame them for having contrived the escape of one of the two, when both, if unavoidable, would willingly have died rather than restore the horses. The man uttered this ridiculous apology with the appearance of so much indifference to the fate that threatened him, that it moved both the laughter and compassion of the audience; and captain Clive interceding with major Lawrence, he was dismissed without any punishment. Father Martin, a Jesuit, who resided ten years in the neighbouring country of Morawar, describes the Colleries as more barbarous than any savages in any part of the globe; asserting, that when two of the nation, either male or female, have a quarrel with one another, each is obliged by an inviolable custom to suffer and perform whatsoever torments or cruelties the other thinks proper to inflict, either on himself or any of his family; and that the fury of revenge operates so strongly amongst them, that a man for a slight affront has been known to murder his wife and all his children, merely to have the atrocious satisfaction of compelling his adversary to commit the like murders in his own family; but fortunately for the honour of human nature, none of the English officers have hitherto been able to distinguish any traces of these diabolical practices, and the Jesuit stands single in his assertion. The whole country possessed by the Polygar Lachenaig is fortified either by nature or art; for it is surrounded by hills lying at some distance from one another, which being craggy and covered with bushes and loose stones, are impassable to any excepting the Colleries themselves; and from hill to hill are flung up works peculiar to the rude but cunning character of these people; for they consist of a thick wall, composed of large stones laid upon one another, without cement, and flanked at proper distances by round towers made of earth, well rammed down; before the wall is a deep and broad ditch, and in front of the ditch a broad hedge of bamboes, so thickly set that it cannot be penetrated without the hatchet or fire.

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The army began early in the morning to attack a part of this barrier: the field pieces were placed upon an eminence from whence they commanded the towers that defended the face of attack; the Colleries appointed to guard the towers not being accustomed to the annoyance of cannon shot, soon abandoned them; but numbers, nevertheless, armed with matchlocks, and bows and arrows, persisted in defending the hedge, hiding themselves within it, and firing with excellent aim through the smallest intervals; whilst others appeared on the hills on each hand, leaping and bounding, by the help of their long spears, from stone to stone, with the agility of monkeys, and howling and screaming in hopes to terrify the assailants; but as soon as they found themselves within reach of their fire, they gained the summits again as nimbly as they had descended: returning, however, in the same manner as soon as the firing ceased. At length, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, the army, after having lost several men, forced their way through the barrier, when Mahomed Issoof was detached with 500 Sepoys, some Europeans and a field piece, to attack the principal town, distant about four miles from that part of the barrier through which they had forced their way; but before the detachment came within sight of the town, they were unexpectedly stopped by another circumvallation of the same kind, but stronger than the first: here the enemy had assembled their whole force, and defended themselves with much more obstinacy than before; insomuch that Mahomed Issoof, after losing 100 Sepoys and 12 Europeans, was obliged to send for succours from the main body; from whence a party of 100 Europeans was immediately detached to his assistance; but before they arrived, the enemy having expended all their ammunition, abandoned their defences and disappeared. The army then proceeded without any interruption to their principal town, which they found likewise deserted, the enemy having retired with their cattle to the hills out of the reach of farther pursuit: however, Lachenaig finding that they shewed no inclination to quit his country, renewed his negociation, and in a few days paid the remaining part of his tribute. The Nabob now returned to Tritchinopoly, and the army, together with Maphuze Khan, proceeded to Madura, where they arrived in ten days. This city, since the death of Allum Khan, which hap-

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1755 pened in April 1752, had remained in the possession of another partizan in the interest of Chundasaheb's family, who regarding his government as a transitory possession, and intent upon nothing but amassing wealth, had neglected to repair the fortifications, and kept only a slender garrison, very insufficient to defend a place of such extent: he, therefore, now retired with his garrison to Coilgoody, a strong pagoda, situated about eight miles to the east, and the army entered Madura without the least opposition. Here they received a deputation from the Polygar Morawar, whose country adjoins to the western districts of Madura and Tinivelly. The Polygar apologized for his conduct during the war in siding with Chundasaheb and the Mysoreans, desired to be pardoned for that offence, and intreated to be received into alliance with the English, under whose protection he promised to remain faithful to the Nabob. As a proof of the sincerity of his intentions, he offered to give the company two settlements on the sea-coast of his country, opposite to Ceylon, which, as he justly observed, would greatly facilitate their future communications with Tinivelly, for they had at present no other way of approaching that city but by a tedious and difficult march of several hundred miles; whereas reinforcements might come by sea from Madrass of Fort St. David in four or five days to the settlements he intended to give, from which the march to Tinivelly was no more than fifty miles. These offers colonel Heron deemed so advantageous, that without consulting the presidency, he entered into an alliance with the Polygar, and as a mark of the English friendship, gave his deputies three English flags, with permission to hoist them in their country, wheresoever they should think proper. After this business was concluded, and the necessary regulations made to establish the Nabob's authority in the city, colonel Heron determined to attack the fugitive governor in Coilgoody. The greatest part of the Sepoys were sent forward in the evening, under the command of Mahomed Issoof, with orders to invest the pagoda closely until the battalion came up; but by some mistake they halted at the distance of two miles from the place, and the governor receiving by his spies intelligence of colonel Heron's intentions, fled in the night, leaving however the greatest part of his troops to defend it. The next day the battalion

battalion set out from Madura, with two eighteen pounders; but the 1755
march lying through a rugged road, the carriages of these cannon broke down, and there were no spare carriages to replace them; so that when the troops appeared before the pagoda, they had none of the common preparations necessary to attack it, having even forgot to provide scaling ladders. Colonel Heron, however, thinking it a disgrace to retreat after he had summoned the place, determined to force his way into it by burning down the gate with bundles of straw; an expedient which probably was suggested to him by his Indian domestics, in whom he placed great confidence; for we have seen the natives employing this method of attack at Achaveram. The most resolute men in the army regarded the attempt as rash and impracticable; but colonel Heron, to silence their remonstrances, set the example, and carried the first torch himself. Excess of courage, however desperately or absurdly employed, seldom fails to interest those who are spectators of it, and often obliges them to participate of the danger, even against the convictions of their reason: Mahomed Issoof, the commander of the Sepoys, who had more than any one ridiculed the madness of this attempt, no sooner saw colonel Heron exposing himself in this desperate manner, contrary to all military rules, than he followed his example, and accompanied him with another torch; so that the two principal officers of the army were now seen acting the part of volunteers, leading a forlorn hope. Success, however, contrary to the general expectation, rewarded their endeavours, and in less than an hour the gate was burnt down, when the soldiery rushed in, and in their first fury put several of the garrison to the sword: they were then permitted to plunder, and nothing as usual, escaped them; for finding in the temples of the pagoda a great number of little brazen images, worshipped by the people of the country, and particularly by the Colleries, they tore them down from their pedestals, hoping to sell them at least for what the weight of the metal might be worth. After this exploit, for which the people of the country held them in utter detestation, the troops returned to Madura; where leaving a garrison of Europeans and Sepoys for the security of the city, the rest of the army, accompanied by Maphuze Khan, proceeded to Tinivelly, and arrived there about the middle of March.

1755 This town is without defences, and no body appeared to oppose their entrance into it: the renters of the open country followed the example of the capital, and acknowledged the Nabob without hesitation; but many of the neighbouring Polygars made pretences to evade the payment of the tribute due from them. The most considerable of these chiefs was Catabomanaig, whose country lies about fifty miles north-east from Tinivelly; and it being imagined that the inferior Polygars would not hold out long after he should have submitted, a detachment of 200 Europeans, and 500 Sepoys, with two field pieces, were sent to reduce him.

Some days after another detachment, consisting of 100 Europeans, and 300 Sepoys, with two field pieces, were sent to attack the fort of Nelli-cotah, situated forty miles to the south of Tinivelly. These troops set out at midnight, and performed the march in eighteen hours: the Polygar, startled at the suddenness of their approach, sent out a deputy, who pretended he came to capitulate, and promised that his master would pay the money demanded of him, in a few days; but suspicions being entertained of his veracity, it was determined to detain him as a pledge for the execution of what he had promised, and he was delivered over to the charge of a guard. The troops were so much fatigued by the excessive march they had just made, that even the advanced centinels could not keep awake, and the deputy perceiving all the soldiers who were appointed to guard him, fast asleep, made his escape out of the camp, and returned to the fort; from whence the Polygar had sent him only to gain time, in order to make the necessary preparations for his defence. This being discovered early in the morning, it was determined to storm the place, of which the defences were nothing more than a mud wall with round towers. The troops had brought no scaling ladders, but the outside of the wall was sloping, and had many clefts worn in it by the rain, so that the assault, although hazardous, was nevertheless practicable. It was made both by the Europeans and Sepoys with undaunted courage, in several parties at the same time; each of which gained the parapet without being once repulsed, when the garrison retired to the buildings of the fort, where they called out for quarter; but the soldiers, as usual in desperate assaults, were

so

so much exasperated by a sense of the danger to which they had exposed themselves, that they put all they met to the sword, not excepting the women and children, suffering only six persons out of four hundred to escape alive; sorry we are to say, that the troops and officers who bore the greatest part in this shocking barbarity, were the bravest of Englishmen, having most of them served under colonel Lawrence on the plains of Tritchinopoly: but those who contemplate human nature will find many reasons, supported by examples, to dissent from the common opinion, that cruelty is incompatible with courage. 1755

Meanwhile the Polygar Morawar was so delighted at the success of his negotiation with colonel Heron, that as a farther proof of his good intentions to the English, he ordered 5000 men, under the command of his brother, to march and assist them in reducing the Polygars of Tinivelly; but the king of Tanjore and Tondiman having many years been at implacable variance with the Morawar, beheld the marks of favour which had been shewn to him with the utmost jealousy, and represented their detestation of them in the strongest terms to the presidency of Madrass, alledging that they themselves could have no reliance on the friendship of the English, if they saw them making treaties with their mortal enemies. The presidency, unwilling to give umbrage to these allies, whose assistance they might probably soon stand in need of again, directed colonel Heron to break off all farther communication with the Morawar: these orders, however, did not arrive before the Morawar's troops were advanced within five miles of Tinivelly; when they were abruptly told, that if they did not immediately march back to their own country they would be treated as enemies: not, however, imagining that the English would proceed to such extremities, they remained in their camp, and endeavoured to commence a negociation; but the orders which colonel Heron had received were so peremptory, that he thought himself obliged to march and attack them; on this they decamped with such precipitation, that they left behind them a great part of their baggage, with some horses, which were plundered by the Sepoys of the advanced guard.

The revenues which had been collected during this expedition,

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1755 did not amount to the expences of the army: part of the tributes were embezzled by Maphuze Khan, and part was likewise diminished by the presents which colonel Heron, with too much avidity, consented to receive from those who had accounts to settle with the government. In the mean time Maphuze Khan, in concert with colonel Heron's interpreter, contrived every means to make the state of the province appear less advantageous than it really was; and then made an offer to take the farm of the Madura and Tinivelly countries together at the yearly rent of 1,500,000 rupees: this proposal was seconded, as usual, by the offer of a considerable present, which colonel Heron accepted, and gave him the investiture of the countries.

Whilst these transactions passed to the southward, the Mysoreans remained encamped at Seringham, where the regent had been diligently employed in schemes to get possession of Tritchinopoly: his principal reliance for the accomplishment of this design, was on a bramin, who persuaded him that he had made a strong party in the city, and that he had seduced many of the garrison: the man even carried his imposture so far, that he mentioned the time when, as he pretended, the regent's party in the city desired he would make the attack. The regent, elated with this chimerical hope, could not refrain from revealing a secret, which gave him so much satisfaction, to M. de Saussay, the commander of the French troops, who immediately sent intelligence to the garrison: captain Kilpatrick returned him thanks for the information: but to shew the contempt in which he held the military character of the Mysoreans, he desired de Saussay to acquaint the regent, that if he would venture to make the attack, the gates of the city should be left open to receive him. Soon after the regent received news from Mysore, informing him, that a large army of Morattoes, under the command of Balagerow, who had levied a contribution from his country in the preceding year, was approaching again to the frontiers; and that Salabad-jing, at the head of his army, accompanied by the French troops under the command of Mr. Bussy, was likewise advancing to demand the Mogul's tribute, which had never been paid since the death of Nizam-al-muluck. Alarmed by this intelligence, he immediately prepared to return to his own country, and on the 14th of April, the great drum,

the signal of decamping, was beaten, and the whole army crossing the Caveri marched away; leaving the French in possession of the island of Seringham, and the other territories which the Nabob had made over to him on his arrival, and of which he had from that time collected the revenues. 1755

It is difficult to find an example of a prince conducting himself with more weakness than the Mysorean in the course of this war: the Nabob procured his assistance by a promise which he never intended to perform; and indeed, had the Mysorean been endowed with common sagacity, he might have foreseen that the possession of Tritchinopoly, the object of all his endeavours, would have been the greatest misfortune that could have happened to him, since it would certainly sooner or later have involved him in a war with the Mogul government, which probably would have ended in reducing the kingdom of Mysore itself, like the Carnatic, to be a province of the empire. The Nabob's breach of faith in refusing to deliver up the city to him, only served to exasperate his eagerness to get possession of it, which rendered him as great a dupe to the promises of Mr. Dupleix, as he had been to those of the Nabob; for it is certain, that he at last discovered it himself, that the French never intended to give him Tritchinopoly if they had succeeded in taking it: nor was he less deluded by his ally Morari-row, who after persuading him to assist the French against the Nabob, deserted him as soon as his treasures began to fail. At length, after having wasted three years, absent from his own country at the head of an army of 20,000 men, he was obliged to return without receiving the least compensation for the expences he had incurred, or any security for the reimbursement of them: for what reliance he might have upon the conditional treaty was little better than chimerical, since many unforeseen events might render that convention abortive.

The presidency of Madrass hearing of Salabad-jing's approach to the western confines of the Carnatic, entertained suspicions that he might be tempted, notwithstanding the conditional treaty, to enter the province; from this apprehension they sent orders to colonel Heron to return immediately with the troops under his command to Tritchinopoly: however, Maphuze Khan prevailed upon him to remain

1755 remain until he received a second and more peremptory order, which came soon after; upon which he recalled the detachment which had been sent against the Polygar Catabomanaig, and prepared himself to quit Tinivelly. The detachment had been as far to the north-east as Shillinaikenpettah, the principal fort of the Polygar, who on their appearance entered into a negociation, paid some money in part of the tribute due from him, and gave hostages as security for the rest: some money was likewise received from several inferior Polygars, but the whole collection did not exceed 70,000 rupees: as soon as the troops received the orders to return, they summoned Catabomanaig to redeem his hostages; but he knowing that they would not venture to stay any longer in his country, made some trifling excuses, and without any concern suffered them to carry the hostages away with them. On the 2d of May colonel Heron quitted Tinivelly, but instead of proceeding directly to Tritchinopoly, suffered himself to be persuaded by Maphuze Khan to march against Nellitangaville, a fort situated about thirty miles to the west of Tinivelly, belonging to a Polygar who had with much contumacy refused to acknowledge the Nabob's authority: on the march he was joined by the detachment from the north-east. It was the misfortune of colonel Heron to place the utmost confidence in his interpreter, and to be constantly betrayed by him; for before the army arrived in sight of the fort, this man had informed the Polygar that they had no battering cannon, and that they would not remain long before the place: the Polygar, therefore, secure in his fort, which was built of stone and very strong, answered the summons with insolence; upon which the field pieces and two cohorns fired smartly upon the walls for several hours; but this annoyance producing no effect, another message was sent, offering that the army, should retire, provided he would pay 20,000 rupees. The Polygar relying on the information which he had received from the interpreter, and encouraged by this relaxation in the terms which were at first proposed to him, answered with great contempt, that such a sum could not be raised in his whole country, and that he knew the value of money too well to pay a single rupee. By this time the army were much distressed for provisions of all kinds, and the Sepoys ready to mutiny for want of pay; both which

Maphuze

Maphuze Khan had promised, but had neglected to supply; it was 1755 therefore determined to march away to Madura, where they arrived, accompanied by Maphuze Khan, on the 22d of May.

Colonel Heron stayed no longer here than was necessary to refresh the men and settle the garrison, in which he left a thousand Sepoys, under the command of Jemaul-saheb, an officer of some reputation, and next in rank to Mahomed Issoof. The army had now to pass one of the most difficult and dangerous defiles in the peninsula, situated in a country inhabited by Colleries, who had, ever since the departure of the army from Madura, threatened vengeance for the loss of their gods at Coilgoody, and had already given a specimen of their resentment by cutting off a party of Sepoys, which the commanding officer of Madura sent out to collect cattle. A Collery discovered them in the night lying fast asleep, without any sentinels, and immediately went and brought a number of his cast, who, coming upon them by surprize, stabbed every one of them. The defile, called the pass of Nattam, begins about twenty miles to the north of the city, and continues for six miles through a wood, impenetrable every where else, to all, excepting the wild beasts and Colleries to whom it belongs. The road of the defile is barely sufficient to admit a single carriage at a time, and a bank running along each side of it, renders it a hollow way: the wood is in most parts contiguous to the road, and even in such places where travellers have felled part of it, the eye cannot penetrate farther than twenty yards.

The army quitted Madura on the 28th of May; a party was sent forward to take post at a mud fort called Volsynattam, near the entrance of the woods, where the rest joined them in the evening, and the whole passed the night here. The next morning at day-break they prepared to march through the defile: and it being reported that the Colleries had cut down many trees to obstruct the way, a detachment of Europeans, pioneers, and Sepoys, were sent forward under the command of captain Lin, with orders to clear the pass of these incumbrances, and to scour the woods on each side with their fire; but captain Lin neither finding such obstructions as had been reported, nor even discovering the least appearance of an enemy, continued his march

1755 march, and halted at the town of Nattam on the farther side of the wood. Some time after the rest of the army entered the pass in the following order of march : some companies of Sepoys led the van ; these were followed by a serjeant and twelve Europeans ; and immediately after them came the first division of artillery, with the tumbrils containing military stores ; then followed the battalion led by captain Polier, after whom marched the rear division of artillery and tumbrils, which were followed by a serjeant and twelve men, and these by some companies of Sepoys : then followed the baggage of the whole army, carried by bullocks and coolies, with several elephants and camels belonging to Maphuze Khan, and accompanied by some Sepoys to protect them. The rear of the whole line was closed by a guard of 20 Europeans, 40 Caffres, and 200 Sepoys, with a six pounder, under the command of captain Joseph Smith : colonel Heron with a few horse proceeded before the line. Nothing could be blamed in this disposition, excepting that the commanding officer should have been in the center with the battalion, or with the rear guard, which ought to have been stronger : but the report from captain Lin's party, who had passed without interruption, removed every apprehension of danger, and relaxed the spirit of precaution. The whole army had entered the defile, and proceeded, wondering they saw nothing of an enemy of whom they had heard so much ; when, by the carelessness of a driver, one of the heaviest tumbrils belonging to the rear division of artillery stuck in a slough, out of which the oxen were not able to draw it : the officers of artillery, however, imagining that they should soon be able to extricate it, suffered the troops marching before them to go on without calling out, or sending to bid them halt ; and the officer who commanded in the rear of the battalion, seeing several of the tumbrils following close up with him, did not suspect what had happened, and kept on his way : most of the Sepoys, who marched behind the rear division of artillery, were likewise suffered to pass the carriage in the slough, and proceeded in the rear of those tumbrils which were going on. In the mean time the carriage resisted several different efforts which were made to remove it, and choaking up the road, prevented the other tumbrils which followed, as well as the three field pieces which formed the rear division

ivision of artillery, from moving on, and these stopped the whole line 1755
f the baggage : thus the front division and main body of the army
vere separated from the rear, which by the absence of those Sepoys
elonging to it, who were suffered to proceed, was likewise deprived
f a great part of its force. The Colleries, although unperceived,
ept spies near the road, watching every motion, but cunningly re-
rained from making any attack, until the main body had advanced
wo miles beyond the tumbril, which caused the impediment, when
umbers of them began to appear near the rear guard of the baggage ;
ut the fire of a few platoons soon obliged them to retreat ; and as
hey remained quiet for some time, it was imagined that they would
iot venture to make another attempt : but on a sudden they appeared
i much greater numbers at the other end of the line, where the
umbril had embarrassed the road, and attacked the rear division of artil-
ery : here the whole number of troops did not exceed a hundred men,
f which only twenty-five were Europeans : this force not being
ufficient to protect all the carriages, the two officers of the artillery
rudently determined to give their whole attention to the preservation
f their field pieces, and of the tumbrils, which carried their powder
nd shot. These happened to be all together in the rear of such car-
iages as were laden with other kinds of military stores ; but fortu-
iately some of the wood on the right hand was cut down, and afforded
n opening which commanded the road in front where the enemy
vere assembled ; the officers therefore contrived to get their field
pieces into the opening, from whence they fired smartly ; but the
Colleries nevertheless maintained the attack for some time with cou-
age, and with a variety of weapons ; arrows, matchlocks, rockets,
avelins, and pikes ; every one accompanying his efforts with horrible
screams and howlings, and answering every shot that was fired upon
hem with the same outcries ; but finding themselves much galled,
hey at length quitted the road, and retired into the thickets on each
ide, from whence they renewed the fight with equal vigour, and with
better success, since the artillery men were obliged to divide their at-
ention to many different parts at once : many of the Colleries now
pushed into the road amongst the tumbrils and carriages, and with
heir long spears stabbed the draught bullocks, and wounded or drove

1755 back the few Sepoys who remained to guard them: upon the artillery they were not able to make any impression; for the gunners sensible that the cannon were their only resource, fired them with great vivacity and much effect; and captain Smith likewise sensible of the necessity of protecting the artillery at all events, detached, although he could ill spare them, an officer with a company of Sepoys from the rear guard to their assistance. At length the confused outcries of the enemy were on a sudden changed to one voice, and nothing was heard on all sides but continual repetitions of the word *swamy*, meaning gods, which expression they accompanied with violent gesticulations and antic postures, like men frantic with joy; for some of them cutting down the tumbrils they had seized, discovered in one of them most of the little brazen images of their divinities which the English had plundered at Coilgoody. It seemed as if they could not have received more delight in rescuing their wives and children from captivity; however, after their gods were conveyed out of the reach of danger, they renewed their attacks, and continued them at different intervals for several hours. Mean while no assistance came from the battalion, nor did one of the messengers, sent by captain Smith to inform the commanders in chief of the distress of the rear, return. It was now four in the afternoon, when the enemy, after having desisted some time from their attacks upon the artillery, sallied at once again unexpectedly into the road amongst the baggage, coolies, and market people of the army, killing, without distinction of age or sex, all they met. From this moment every thing was hurried into the utmost confusion; every one flung down his burden; and men, women and children pressing upon one another, fled to the rear guard as their only sanctuary: captain Smith, unwilling to aggravate the sufferings of the poor wretches by firing upon them, took the resolution of marching back out of the defile into the plain, where he drew up his men in a little field enclosed with a bank, and placing his field piece in the center of it, waited for the enemy; who satisfied with the havock they had committed, did not venture to attack him, but retreated and disappeared as soon as the defenceless multitude they were driving before them had got out of the wood. Some Lascars and Sepoys were now sent forward to clear the road of the incum-

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branccs of baggage with which it was scattered; after which the rear guard, divided half before and half behind the field piece and its tumbril, proceeded; and, fortunately meeting with no interruptions from the enemy, soon joined the rear division of artillery, who had been waiting with the utmost anxiety, expecting every moment to be attacked again: great therefore was their joy at being thus reinforced. It was now dusk, and no time was to be lost; captain Smith therefore immediately collected what bullocks had escaped the enemy's slaughter, destroyed the carriage which had been the first cause of the confusion of the day, and drew off all the field pieces with their tumbrils of ammunition, leaving behind the rest of the stores, with the whole baggage of the army, for want of means to carry them away: about two miles farther in the pass he came up with the battalion whom he found lying on their arms, without either the commander in chief, or any one of the captains amongst them: for these five officers had all been suddenly taken ill about noon with the extreme heat of the day; and had proceeded in their pallankins through the wood, to the post where the advanced guard under the command of captain Lin was halting: from this misfortune, the subordinate officers, left without orders, had not ventured to make any dispositions to succour the rear, notwithstanding they knew the danger to which it was exposed. Captain Smith now took the command of the battalion, and marched with them through the wood to the station where the advanced guard and the rest of the officers were waiting. Here the army passed the night, and the next day reached the town of Nattam, where they were joined by a detachment from Tritchinopoly: Maphuze Khan accompanied them no farther; but returned to Madura. The army continuing their march without any interruption, arrived on the 5th of June in sight of Tritchinopoly, and encamped at Warriore pagodas: colonel Heron was soon after recalled to Madrass, where his conduct during this expedition was tried by a court martial, by which he was rendered incapable of serving the company any longer. 1755

The government of Pondicherry saw this expedition into the southern countries with a jealous eye, because they saw the advantages which would accrue to the Nabob, if the territories of Madura and Tinivelly, which had so long been rent from the power of Arcot, should again

1755 be annexed to its government; they remonstrated, not only that the expedition was in itself a breach of the truce with Mr. Godeheu, but that these countries belonged to themselves in virtue of various rights derived from Chundasaheb, and the king of Mysore. Their arguments were answered by pretensions equally specious; and Mr. Deleyrit the governor of Pondicherry, naturally a man of moderation, did not think it worth while to interrupt the expedition at the risque of renewing the war so early after the cessation of hostilities; but on the first occasion acted as the English had set the example.

There lieth about thirty milies north of Tritchinopoly, and immediately N. W. of the straights of Utatoor, a large tract of woodland country, called Terriore, of which the chief is stiled *Rheddy*, a diminutive of Rajah or king. This country during the war before Tritchinopoly had been overrun by a detachment of the Mysore army, assisted by some of the French troops, who deposed the Rheddy then reigning, and placed one of his cousins in his stead. The Mysoreans, when they retreated from Tritchinopoly to their own country, left the French government the representatives of all their rights and pretensions in the Carnatic; and the new Rheddy having for some time evaded to pay his tribute, Mr. Deleyrit, in the month of June sent 500 Europeans and 1000 Sepoys, under the command of M. Maissin, to punish his disobedience. Captain Calliaud, who had lately been appointed to the command of Tritchinopoly, prepared to oppose the attempt; but was forbidden by the presidency of Madrass, who having enquired into the titles which the French asserted to the vassalage of Terriore, was satisfied of their validity. M. Maissin after some opposition took the principal town in the middle of the woods, deposed the Rheddy, and reinstated his antecessor. Encouraged by this success, and more by the forbearance of the English, he marched against the Polygars of Arielore and Wariore pollam. The woods of these chiefs are almost contiguous, and both are extensive. That of Arielore begins about fifty miles to the N. E. of Tritchinopoly, and stretches north to the river Valaru; but Wariore lies farther to the Eastward, and extends Southward almost to the Coleroon. Both Polygars had at different times, during the war of Tritchinopoly paid money to redeem the skirts of their country from the ravages of the Morattoes;

Morattoes; but had never made any submissions of fealty either to 1755
the French or Mysoreans; and at this time claimed the protection of the Nabob, whom they acknowledged as their only superior. The presidency of Madrass, therefore, now, without hesitation, ordered Calliaud to march from Tritchinopoly, and moreover threatened to send a force from Madrass, if Maissin persisted. M. Deleyrit deterred by this vigour, ordered him to desist, and distributed his troops into the uncontested districts, subject to Pondicherry, nearer the sea coast.

Meanwhile, the presidency of Madrass, recommended to the Nabob to come from Tritchinopoly and settle with his family at Arcot, where Abdul-wahab had created many disorders in the administration. lavishing away the revenues with a spirit of dissipation that would soon have ruined the province, even if it had long enjoyed the highest degree of prosperity. The Nabob acquiesced to this advice, and on the ninth of July quitted Tritchinopoly, escorted by 300 Europeans and 1000 Sepoys, under the command of captain Polier. It was at first intended that they should proceed directly across the Caveri and Coleroon in the high road to Arcot; but the rivers were at this time swelled, and still more risque was apprehended from Maissin's party, then lying before Arielore. It was therefore resolved to proceed through the country of Tanjore to Fort St. David, where measures might be taken for the rest of the rout, according to exigencies. When arrived at the village of Condore, the king sent his general Monac-gee with a numerous train, to make his compliments to the Nabob. This interview, like most others between persons of such rank in Indostan, passed in the strongest and falsest protestations of an inviolable friendship; amongst other professions, Monac-gee said, that his master kept 5000 horse ready to serve the Nabob, if necessary, in the Carnatic; and the Nabob, whilst he extolled with admiration this excessive mark of the king's love and friendship, whispered to captain Polier that it was all a lie. From Condore they proceeded by the nearest road to Fort St. David, where admiral Watson with the squadron under his command was then lying, having returned in the middle of May from the bay of Trinconomalee, to which they had repaired in order to avoid the setting in of the southern

1755 southern monsoon, because it is sometimes attended by a hurricane. The Nabob went on board the admiral's ship, the Kent, of sixty-four guns, and having never before seen the interior structure and arrangement of such a machine, could not suppress his astonishment, when conducted into the lower deck. The presidency of Madrass, seeing no probability of any interruption to his progress from Fort St. David, advised him to continue his march without delay, but accompanied by the same escort. On the nineteenth of August he arrived within a mile of Arcot, and encamped on the plain, resolving by the advice of his dervises to wait for a lucky day to make his entry into the city, which fell out on the twenty-first. In the mean time, colonel Lawrence, Mr. Walsh, and Mr. Palk, deputed to invite him at Madrass, arrived at his camp, and contributed to increase the splendour and reputation of his entry into his capital, from which he had been absent ever since the death of Nazir-jing. On the thirtieth, he came to Madrass, where after several conferences with the presidency he consented to make over to the company some farther assignments on the revenues of the country, in order to reimburse the great expences they had incurred in the war. This important point begin settled, it was determined that he should proceed with a strong detachment to collect the revenues that were due to him from such chiefs as had hitherto withheld them with impunity, more particularly from several polygars in the northern parts of the province. It was agreed that half the monies which might be collected, should be paid to the company; and that a member of the council of Madrass, should accompany the Nabob, in order to see this agreement punctually fulfilled. The previous measures for the expedition were not settled before the monsoon set in, after which it was necessary to wait some days until the first violence of the rains had abated; so that it was the latter end of October, before the detachment took the field. It consisted of 300 Europeans and 1500 Sepoys, and was commanded by major Kilpatrick.

It soon appeared that whatsoever submissions had been made in the provinces of Madura and Tinivelly, during the expedition of colonel Heron, had proceeded intirely from the dread of the English troops, whose intrepidity as well as the efficacy of their arms, for exceeded

ceeded the modes of any warfare which had ever been seen in these countries; and they were no sooner departed than the Colleries swarmed abroad again into all the subjected districts that lay exposed to their depredations, whilst their chiefs confederated to prevent by more effectual means the establishment of Maphuze Khan's authority. From this time, these countries became a field of no little conflict, and continued so for several years, which renders it necessary to explain the various interests which produced the present confusions, fertile afterwards of more. 1755

When Allum Khan in the beginning of the year 1752 marched from Madura to the assistance of Chunda-saheb, then besieging Tritchinopoly, he left the countries of Madura and Tinivelly under the management of three Pitan officers, named Mahomed Barky, Mahomed Mainach, and Nabi Cawn Catteck; the first of these was generally known by the appellation of Mianah, the second of Moodemiah; but Nabi Cawn Catteck by his own proper name. The Nabob Mahomedally, when asked by the presidency of Madrass for proofs to invalidate the pretensions of the government of Pondicherry, produced a writing said to be signed by these three officers, and dated the twenty-ninth of November, 1752; by which they acknowledged his sovereignty over the countries of Madura and Tinivelly; and professed themselves his servants and subjects. At this time, Chundasaheb indeed had perished; but the Nabob himself was involved in such difficulties by the resentment of the Mysoreans, that there does not appear any reason why the Pitans should give such a declaration; unless they did it from a conviction of the very little advantage which the Nabob could derive from it. It is certain they never afterwards heeded these professions of obedience, but continued to act without controul, and acted only for themselves; granting immunities, remitting tributes, and even selling forts and districts for presents of ready money. This venality coinciding with the spirit of independance and encroachment common to all the Polygars, procured them not only wealth, but attachments. In this mode of licentious government they continued agreeing amongst themselves in the division of the spoil, and ruling with much power, until the expedition of colonel Heron; when Mianah, who commanded in the the city of Madura

abandoned

1755 abandoned it, and took refuge with the neighbouring Polygars of Nattam; Moodemiah and Nabi Cawn Catteck, retired from Tinivelly to the Polygar of Nellitangaville, better known by the name of Pulitaver. All the three only waited for the departure of the English troops, to dispute the dominion with Maphuze Cawn, when left to himself.

Amongst other alienations, Moodemiah had sold to the king of Travancore, a range of districts extending thirty miles from Calacad to Cape Comorin; and lying at the foot of the mountains which separate Travancore from Tinivelly. The fort of Calacad with several others of less defence were sold with the districts. The kingdom of Travancore is the most southern division of the Malabar coast, ending on that side, as Tinivelly on the eastern, at Cape Comorin. It was formerly of small extent, and paid tribute to Madura; but the present king, through a variety of successes, some of which had been gained against the Dutch, had added to his dominion, all the country as far as the boundaries of Cochin; so that it now extended 120 miles along the sea, and inland as far as the mountains leave any thing worth conquering. With the assistance of a French officer, named Launoy, the king had disciplined, in the method of European infantry, a body of 10,000 Naires: the people of this denomination, are by birth the military tribe of the Malabar coast, and assert in their own country even prouder pre-eminences than the Rajpoots, who in other parts of India are likewise born with the same distinction. Besides these Naires, the king maintained 20,000 other foot, of various arms; but had very few horse, because little advantage can be derived from their service in his country, which is every where either covered with hills, or intersected by rivers. The districts which the king had purchased of Moodemiah, were maintained by about 2000 of his irregular foot, who having no enemies to oppose, were sufficient for the common guards and military attendance, which in Indostan always support the authority of the government in the collection of the revenues. But these troops on the arrival of the army with colonel Heron at Tinivelly, were so terrified by the reports of their exploits, and especially by the sanguinary example in their neighbourhood, at the sacking of Nellicotah, that they abandoned not only their districts, but the fort of

of Calacad likewise, which were soon after taken possession of by a detachment of 300 horse and 500 foot, sent by Maphuze Khan from Tinivelly. As soon as the English troops retired from before Nellitangaville, and it was known that they were recalled to Tritchinopoly, Moodemiah went to Travancore in order to encourage the king to recover the districts which his troops had abandoned ; at the same time the Pulitaver, besides letting loose his Colleries to plunder, formed a camp ready to move and join the Travancores as soon as they should arrive. Maphuze Khan received intelligence of these schemes and preparations, on his return from Nattam and Madura, and immediately proceeded to Tinivelly. 1755

Besides the 1000 Sepoys belonging to the Company which were left with him by colonel Heron, he received 600 more, raised and sent to him by the Nabob ; but these were in no respect equal to the company's, who had been trained in the campaigns of Tritchinopoly ; and Maphuze Khan himself, having no military ideas, excepting that of levying troops, had augmented the force he brought with him from the Carnatic to 2500 horse, and 4000 foot. Five hundred of the horse, and a thousand of the foot, were left to defend the city of Madura and its districts ; but the company's Sepoys proceeded with him to Tinivelly. Before he arrived there, Moodemiah had returned with 2000 Naires, and the same number of other foot, which the king of Travancore had entrusted to his command. They were joined by the forces of the Pulitaver near Calacad ; where the troops stationed by Maphuze Khan in these parts, assembled, gave battle, and were routed : three hundered of the Nabob's Sepoys were in the action, who, to lighten their slight, threw away their muskets, which were collected by the Pulitaver's people, and regarded by them as a very valuable prize. Immediately after this success, the enemy invested the fugitives in the fort of Calacad ; but before they could reduce it, the troops of Travancore returned home, pretending they were recalled by the emergency of some disturbances in their own country ; however it is more probable, that they retreated from the dread of encountering the army, and more especially, the cavalry of Maphuze Khan, which were approaching. Moodemiah went with them, and the Pulitaver retired to his fort and woods, against which

 Maphuze

1755 Maphuze Khan proceeded, and encamped near the fort, which he could not take ; but in this situation repressed the incursion of the Pulitaver's Colleries into the districts of Tinivelly, and content with this advantage, gave out with ostentation that he had settled the country. These vaunts were soon contradicted. In the month of September, Moodemiah returned from Travancore, with a larger body of troops, and again defeated those of Calacad, who in this battle suffered more than in the former ; for 200 of their horse and 500 Sepoys were made prisoners ; and, what aggravated the loss, it was the time of harvest, when the rents are collected, of which the Travancores took possession, and maintained their ground. Maphuze Khan, nevertheless, continued before the Pulitaver's place ; whose troops in the month of November, cut off a detachment of two companies of Sepoys which had been sent to escort provisions ; they were of those belonging to the company, and the commanders of both were killed. No other military events of any consequence happened in these parts during the rest of the year.

The reduction and maintenance of Madura and Tinivelly, were not the only interests in the southern countries, which perplexed, and occupied the attention of the English presidency. In the month of June, they were surprized by a quarrel between their own allies the king of Tanjore and the Polygar Tondiman, which had proceeded to hostilities, before any suspicions were entertained of the animosity. It was obvious that this quarrel, if not timely reconciled, would produce the defection of one or other of them to the Nabob's enemies. The presidency, therefore, immediately ordered them, in peremptory terms, to cease all military operations ; proffering, however, their mediation ; and ordered captain Calliaud to enquire into the causes of the dispute ; who after two journies to Tanjore, and several conferences with the king, with Monac-gee, and with Tondiman's brother, could only collect the following obscure account of it ; so averse were all parties to tell the truth. In the year 1749, the king sent Monac-gee to attack Arandanghi, a fort of strength and note, belonging to the lesser Moravar. Monac-gee finding his own force insufficient, asked assistance of Tondiman, who stipulated in return, the cession of Kelli-nelli-cotah and its districts, valued at 300,000

rupees a year. Arandanghi was reduced, Tondiman took possession of 1755 the districts, and pressed Monac-gee for the patents of cession under the king's seal; but the king disavowed the act of his general; on which Monac-gee purloined the use of the seal, and delivered the patents thus apparently authenticated, according to his promise. Towards the end of 1749, Tanjore, as we have seen, was invaded by Murzafa-jing and Chundasaheb: the subsequent wars suspended the dispute between the king and the Polygar, whilst the common danger continued; but that passed, the broil was at this time renewed with inveteracy. Monac-gee, having when disgraced in 1753 taken refuge with Tondiman, still bore him good will; working on which, and the king's timidity, captain Calliaud stopped the hostilities which were begun, and prevented the renewal of them until the end of September; when the king grown impatient, peremptorily ordered Monac-gee to march: at the same time, Tondiman could not be induced to make any step towards an accommodation, but said he should defend himself. On this, Calliaud made preparations at Tritchinopoly, as if he intended to take the field against both, which stopped the progress of the Tanjorines for some days more, when they moved again; but Monac-gee having, by the king's order, demanded assistance from the little Moravar, contrived to make him withhold his troops; by which, with the pretences of want of money, and the fear of Calliaud, he protracted his inactivity until the end of December, and then returned to Tanjore, without having done Tondiman any harm.

In the Carnatic, no events tending to hostilities between the governments of Madrass and Pondicherry happened during the rest of the year after the French troops retreated from before Arielore; but a tedious and intricate controversy was maintained between them concerning some districts in the neighbourhood of Carangoly and Outramalore, which the French had taken possession of, without any right they could prove. The dispute, however, after some sharp altercations, was settled by an agreement to devide the contested districts equally between the two nations.

The French commissary, Mr. Godeheu, had continued Mr. Bussy in the management of affairs in the northern parts of the Decan, with the same authorities as had been given to him by Mr. Dupleix: Mr. Bussy remained in the ceded provinces from his arrival at Masuli-

 patnam,

1755 patnam in July 1754, to the end of that year, continually employed in settling the government, and often either marching in person, or sending detachments to collect the revenues from the Polygars or chiefs of the woodland countries, who, trusting to their wilds and fastnesses, never pay but at the point of the sword. In the beginning of the year 1755, he returned to Hyderabad, where he found Salabad-jing ready to proceed with all his forces against the kingdom of Mysore, in order to collect a long arrear of tribute, which, he pretended, was owing from this country to the Mogul government. The French company was by treaty in alliance with the regent of Mysore, who well deserved their services, in return for the expences he had incurred in assisting them during the war of Tritchinopoly. On the other hand, the French troops with Mr. Bussy were obliged to assist Salabad-jing against any powers whom he might think proper to treat as enemies; for it was on this condition, without any exception of the Mysoreans, that he had given the northern maritime provinces to the French company. In this perplexity, Mr. Bussy resolved to distress the Mysoreans as little as possible by military operations, and to use his best endeavours to reconcile their differences with the Soubah. But when his army entered their country, Mr. Bussy contrary to his inclination, was obliged to co-operate in the reduction of several forts; although he all the while corresponded with the ministry of Mysore, recommending terms of accommodation. The regent was still before Tritchinopoly, and the ministry suspecting that any manifestation of eagerness to make peace, would induce more imperious conditions, shut themselves up with the best of their forces, and seemed determined to sustain a siege in the capital of Seringapatnam. But an unexpected event of which Mr. Bussy took advantage, soon made them change this resolution; for Balagerow, at this very time, was advancing from Poni with a great army of Morattoes, in order to levy contributions in the country of Mysore; and the ministry judging it better to pay one, than fight two enemies, followed Mr. Bussy's advice, and invited Salabad-jing to come and encamp his whole army under the walls of Seringapatnam; acknowledging his authority, and consenting to pay on account of the arrears due to the Mogul government, five millions and two hundred thousand rupees. At the same time,

time, Mr. Bussy negociated with Balagerow, to dissuade him from ravaging the Mysore country; who finding he could not prosecute his intentions without incurring the hostilities of Salabad-jing, and perhaps gratified by a part of the contributions levied, returned quietly to Poni. Salabad-jing quitted Seringapatnam in April, and in his return to Hyderabad exacted the submissions and levied the tributes due from several Polygars of Viziapore. The army arrived at Hyderabad in the beginning of July, and were not employed in any other military operations during the remainder of the year. 1755

The English squadron found no enemies to encounter, nor any other occasion of active service on the coast of Coromandel since their return from Bombay in the month of January; but it may be supposed that their appearance awed the government of Pondicherry, and contributed not a little to produce that moderation which prevailed in the French councils after the conclusion of the conditional treaty. They came from Fort St. David to Madrass in the end of July, and departed from thence on the 10th of October, in order to avoid the northern monsoon. On the 10th of November, they arrived at Bombay, where they found several of the company's ships lately arrived from England, with a considerable number of troops, sent with an intention to be employed on a special expedition projected in London.

The East-India company, whilst uncertain of the event of the negociation in India, received advices of the acquisitions which Mr. Bussy had obtained from Salabad-jing; and concluding very justly that negociations alone would not induce the French to quit such great advantages, they determined to strike at their power in the northern parts of the Decan by more effectual means. Aurengabad, the capital of this division of the Mogul empire, lies no more than one hundred and fifty miles west of Bombay, and the country of the Morattoes between both: a friendly intercourse had for some time been kept up by the presidency of Bombay with the Saha Rajah; and from the frequent hostilities which had been carried on by his general Balagerow against Salabad-jing, it was imagined that the Morattoes might be rendered very instrumental in removing the French troops from the service of this prince: it was therefore determined to assist Balagerow with a force of Europeans the first time he should march 1756

1756 march against Salabad-jing, who it was hoped would be so much alarmed by this measure as to consent to dismiss the French troops from his service, on condition that the English retired from the banners of the Morattoes: and if he persisted in his attachment to the French, it was determined to weary him into a compliance by vigorous hostilities, in conjunction with the Morattoes.

This enterprize required a commander of much experience in the military and political systems of the country; and captain Clive, who was at this time preparing to return to India, offered to conduct it: the company had rewarded the services which this officer had already rendered, by appointing him governor of Fort St. David, and by obtaining for him a commission of lieutenant-colonel in the king's service; but from that dependance on the ministry to which their affairs will always be subject, whilst engaged in military operations, the court of directors, in compliance with very powerful recommendations, appointed lieutenant-colonel Scot to command the expedition. This officer went to India in the preceding year, in the post of engineer-general of all their settlements, but died soon after his arrival at Madrass. The company, however, for fear that this or any other accident might prevent him from undertaking the expedition, desired colonel Clive to proceed to Bombay before he went to the coast of Coromandel, that if necessary he might be ready to supply colonel Scot's place. The troops sent from England for this service were three companies of the king's artillery, each of 100 men, and 300 recruits; who arrived at Bombay in the end of October; where colonel Clive finding that colonel Scot was dead, proposed to the presidency to undertake the plan recommended to them; but they, possessed by too much caution, imagined that it could not be carried into execution without infringing the convention made by Messrs. Saunders and Godeheu: this judgment, however, had no foundation either in the truce or in the conditional treaty, in which all mention, both of Salabad-jing and of the French troops in his service, seemed to have been studiously avoided. The court of directors had explained their whole plan to the presidency of Madrass; but the ship which had the letters on board was unfortunately wrecked on a rock lying eight hundred miles to the east of the Cape of Good Hope, within sight of the continent of Africa; and the pre-

presidency of Bombay not providing for such an accident, but fearful 1756
that the letters they might write on this subject would be intercepted by the French, contented themselves with only sending to Madrass advices of the arrival of colonel Clive with the troops, without explaining their destination; however, slender as this information was, it served to suggest to some members of the council the whole extent of the company's intention; in consequence of which they formed a plan for the conduct of it, which they recommended in the strongest terms to the presidency of Bombay; but before these letters arrived, that presidency had taken the resolution of employing all their force, in conjunction with Mr. Watson's squadron, against another enemy, who had long been formidable to the English commerce on that side of India.

The Malabar coast, from cape Comerin to Surat, is intersected by a great number of rivers, which disembogue into the sea; it appears that from the earliest antiquity the inhabitants have had a strong propensity to piracy, and at this day all the different principalities on the coast employ vessels to cruize upon those of all other nations which they can overpower. The Mogul empire, when it first extended its dominion to the sea in the northern parts of this coast, appointed an admiral called the Sidee, with a fleet to protect the vessels of their Mahometan subjects trading to the gulphs of Arabia and Persia, from the Malabar pirates, as well as from the Portugueze. The Morattoes were at that time in possession of several forts between Goa and Bombay, and finding themselves interrupted in their piracies by the Mogul's admiral, they made war against him by sea and land. In this war one Conagee Angria raised himself from a private man to be commander in chief of the Morattoe fleet, and was entrusted with the government of Severndroog, one of their strongest forts, built upon a small rocky island which lies about eight miles to the north of Dabul, and within cannon shot of the continent: here Conagee revolted against the Saha Rajah, or king of the Morattoes, and having seduced part of the fleet to follow his fortune, he with them took and destroyed the rest. The Saha Rajah endeavoured to reduce him to obedience by building three forts upon the main land, within point blank shot of Severndroog; but Conagee took these forts likewise, and in a few years got

possession

1756 possession of all the sea coast, from Tamanah to Bancoote, extending 120 miles, together with the inland country as far back as the mountains, which in some places are thirty, in others twenty miles from the sea. His successors, who have all borne the name of Angria, strengthened themselves continually, insomuch that the morattoes having no hopes of reducing them, agreed to a peace on condition that Angria should acknowledge the sovereignty of the Saha Rajah, by paying him a small annual tribute; but they nevertheless retained a strong animosity against him, and determined to avail themselves of any favourable opportunity to recover the territories he had wrested from them.

In the mean time the piracies which Angria exercised upon ships of all nations indifferently, who did not purchase his passes, rendered him every day more and more powerful. The land and sea breezes on this coast, as well as on that of Coromandel, blow alternately in the twenty-four hours, and divide the day; so that vessels sailing along the coast are obliged to keep in sight of land, since the land-winds do not reach more than forty miles out to sea: there was not a creek, bay, harbour, or mouth of a river along the coast of his dominions, in which he had not erected fortifications and marine receptacles, to serve both as a station of discovery, and as a place of refuge to his vessels; hence it was as difficult to avoid the encounter of them, as to take them. His fleet consisted of grabs and galivats, vessels peculiar to the Malabar coast. The grabs have rarely more than two masts, although some have three; those of three are about 300 tons burthen; but the others are not more than 150: they are built to draw very little water, being very broad in proportion to their length, narrowing however from the middle to the end, where instead of bows they have a prow, projecting like that of a Mediterranean galley, and covered with a strong deck level with the main deck of the vessel, from which, however, it is separated by a bulk head which terminates the forecastle: as this construction subjects the grab to pitch violently when sailing against a head sea, the deck of the prow is not enclosed with sides as the rest of the vessel is, but remains bare, that the water which dashes upon it may pass off without interruption: on the main deck under the forecastle are mounted two pieces of cannon of nine or twelve pounders, which point forwards

wards through the port holes cut in the bulk head, and fire over the prow ; the cannon of the broadside are from six to nine pounders. The gallivats are large row-boats built like the grab, but of smaller dimensions, the largest rarely exceeding 70 tons : they have two masts, of which the mizen is very slight ; the main mast bears only one sail, which is triangular and very large, the peak of it when hoisted being much higher than the mast itself. In general the gallivats are covered with a spar deck, made for lightness of bamboes split, and these carry only petteraroes, which are fixed on swivels in the gunnel of the vessel ; but those of the largest size have a fixed deck on which they mount six or eight pieces of cannon, from two to four pounders ; they have forty or fifty stout oars, and may be rowed four miles an hour. 1756

Eight or ten grabs, and forty or fifty gallivats, crowded with men, generally composed Angria's principal fleet destined to attack ships of force or burthen. The vessel no sooner came in sight of the port or bay where the fleet was lying, than they slipped their cables and put out to sea : if the wind blew, their construction enabled them to sail almost as fast as the wind ; and if it was calm, the gallivats rowing towed the grabs : when within cannon shot of the chace they generally assembled in her stern, and the grabs attacked her at a distance with their prow guns, firing first only at the masts, and taking aim when the three masts of the vessel just opened all together to their view ; by which means the shot would probably strike one or other of the three. As soon as the chace was dismasted, they came nearer and battered her on all sides until she struck ; and if the defence was obstinate, they sent a number of gallivats with two or three hundred men in each, who boarded sword in hand from all quarters in the same instant.

It was now fifty years that this piratical state had rendered itself formidable to the trading ships of all the European nations in India, and the English East-India company had kept up a marine force at the annual expence of fifty thousand pounds to protect their own ships, as well as those belonging to the merchants established in their colonies ; for as no vessel could with prudence venture singly to pass by Angria's dominions, the trade was convoyed at particular times up and down the sea coasts by the company's armed vessels. But as

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1756 this force consisted only of four grabs, two of which, however, mounted twenty guns, and six gallivats, it was deemed capable of nothing more than to protect the trade; and indeed it scarcely ever did any mischief to the enemy, who sailing much better than the Bombay fleet, never fought them longer than they thought proper: in the mean time, Angria seldom failed to take such ships as ventured to sail without company along his coast. About twenty-eight years ago they took the Darby, a ship belonging to the company, richly laden from England, and more lately a three mast grab of the Bombay fleet: they likewise took a forty gun ship belonging to the French company; and in February, 1754, they overpowered three Dutch ships, of 50, 36, and 18, guns, which were sailing together, burning the two largest, and taking the other. In 1722, commodore Mathews with a squadron of three ships of the line, in conjunction with a Portugueze army from Goa, attacked one of their forts called Coilabby, but by the cowardice of the Portugueze the attempt proved unsuccessful: and two years after that expedition, the Dutch with equal ill success attacked Gheria with seven ships, two bomb vessels, and a body of land forces. From this time his forts were deemed impregnable, as his fleet was with reason esteemed formidable. Elated by his constant good fortune, the pirate threw off his allegiance to the Morattoes: it is said that he cut off the noses of their ambassadors who came to demand the tribute he had agreed to pay to the Saha Rajah. The Morattoes who were in possession of the main land opposite to Bombay, had several times made proposals to the English government in the island, to attack this common enemy with their united forces, but it was not before the beginning of the present year that both parties happened to be ready at the same time to undertake such an expedition. The presidency then made a treaty with Rama-gee Punt, the Saha Rajah's general in these parts, and agreed to assist the Morattoes with their marine force in reducing Severndroog, Bancoote, and some others of Angria's forts, which lie near to Choul, a harbour and fortified city belonging to the Morattoes. Accordingly commodore James, the commander in chief of the company's marine force in India, sailed on the 22d of March in the Protector of 44 guns, with a ketch of 16 guns, and two bomb vessels: but such was the exaggerated opinion

opinion of Angria's strong holds, that the presidency instructed him not to expose the company's vessels to any risque by attacking them, but only to blockade the harbours whilst the Morattoe army carried on their operations by land. Three days after the Morattoe fleet, consisting of seven grabs and sixty gallivats, came out of Choul, having on board 10,000 land forces, and the fleets united proceeded to Comara-bay, where they anchored in order to permit the Morattoes to get their meal on shore, since they are prohibited by their religion from eating or washing at sea. Departing from hence they anchored again about fifteen miles to the north of Severndroog, when Rama-gee Punt with the troops disembarked in order to proceed the rest of the way by land: commodore James now receiving intelligence that the enemy's fleet lay at anchor in the harbour of Severndroog, represented to the admiral of the Morattoe fleet, that by proceeding immediately thither they might come upon them in the night, and so effectually blockade them in the harbour that few or none would be able to escape. The Morattoe seemed highly to approve the proposal, but had not authority enough over his officers to make any of them stir before the morning, when the enemy discovering them under sail, immediately slipped their cables and put to sea. The commodore then flung out the signal for a general chase; but as little regard was paid to this as to his former intention; for although the vessels of the Morattoes had hitherto sailed better than the English, such was their terror of Angria's fleet, that they all kept behind, and suffered the Protector to proceed alone almost out of their sight. The enemy on the other hand exerted themselves with uncommon industry, flinging overboard all their lumber to lighten their vessels, not only crowding all the sails they could bend, but also hanging up their garments, and even their turbans, to catch every breath of air. The Protector, however, came within gun-shot of some of the sternmost, but the evening approaching, commodore James gave over the chase, and returned to Severndroog, which he had passed several miles. Here he found Rama-gee Punt with the army besieging, as they said, the three forts on the main land; but they were firing only from one gun, a four pounder, at the distance of two mlies, and even at this distance the troops did not think themselves safe without digging pits, in which 1756

1756 they sheltered themselves covered up to the chin from the enemy's fire. The commodore judging from these operations, that they would never take the forts, determined to exceed the instructions which he had received from the presidency, rather than expose the English arms to the disgrace they would suffer, if an expedition in which they were believed by Angria to have taken so great a share, should miscarry. The next day, the 2d of April, he began to cannonade and bombard the fort of Severndroog, situated on the island; but finding that the walls on the western side which he attacked, were mostly cut out of the solid rock, he changed his station to the north-east between the island and the main; where whilst one of his broadsides plied the north-east bastions of this fort, the other fired on fort Goa, the largest of those upon the main land. The bastions of Severndroog, however, were so high, that the Protector could only point her upper tier at them; but being anchored within a hundred yards, the musketry in the round tops drove the enemy from their guns, and by noon the parapet of the north-east bastion was in ruins; when a shell from one of the bomb vessels set fire to a thatched house, which the garrison, dreading the Protector's musketry, were afraid to extinguish: the blaze spreading fiercely at this dry season of the year, all the buildings of the fort were soon in flames, and amongst them a magazine of powder blew up. On this disaster the inhabitants, men, women and children, with the greatest part of the garrison, in all near 1000 persons, ran out of the fort, and embarking in seven or eight large boats, attempted to make their escape to fort Goa; but they were prevented by the English ketches, who took them all. The Protector now directed her fire only against fort Goa; where the enemy, after suffering a severe cannonade, hung out a flag as a signal of surrender; but whilst the Morattoes were marching to take posessions of it, the governor perceiving that the commodore had not yet taken possession of Severndroog, got into a boat with some of his most trusty men, and crossed over to the island, hoping to be able to maintain the fort until he should receive assistance from Dabul, which is in sight of it. Upon this the Protector renewed her fire upon Severndroog, and the commodore finding that the governor wanted to protract the defence until night, when it was not to be doubted that some

some boats from Dabul would endeavour to throw succours into the place, he landed half his seamen, under cover of the fire of the ships, who with great intrepidity ran up to the gate, and cutting down the sally port with their axes, forced their way into it; on which the garrison surrendered: the other two forts on the main land had by this time hung out flags of truce, and the Morattoes took possession of them. This was all the work of one day, in which the spirited resolution of commodore James destroyed the timorous prejudices which had for twenty years been entertained of the impracticability of reducing any of Angria's fortified harbours. 1756

On the 8th of April, the fleet and army proceeded to Bancoote, a fortified island which commands a harbour lying about six miles to the north of Severndroog. The place, terrified by the fate of Severndroog, surrendered on the first summons, and the Morattoes consented that the company should keep it. It is now called fort Victoria, and the country about it being subject to the Sidee, is inhabited by Mahomedans, who contribute to supply Bombay with beeves, which it is very difficult to procure in other parts of the coast, as they are under the jurisdiction of princes of the strictest cast of the Indian religion, who worship the cow, and regard the killing of that animal as the greatest of crimes.

Rama-gee Punt was so elated by these successes, that he offered commodore James 200,000 rupees if he would immediately proceed against Dabul, and some other of the enemy's forts, a little to the southward of that place; and certainly this was the time to attack them, during the consternation into which the enemy were thrown by the losses they had just sustained. But the stormy monsoon, which on this coast sets in at the end of April, was approaching, and the commodore having already exceeded his orders, would not venture to comply with the Morattoe's request without permission from Bombay: however, in order to obtain it as expiditiously as possible, he sailed away thither in the Protector; but found the presidency, notwithstanding the unexpected successes of their arms, still possessed by their ancient spirit of caution, and so sollicitous for the fate of one of their bomb ketches, a heavy flat bottomed boat incapable of keeping the sea in tempestuous weather, that they ordered him to bring back the fleet into harbour without delay. Accordingly on the 11th he de-

livered

1756 livered the forts of Severndroog to the Morattoes, striking the English flag, which for the honour of their arms he had hitherto caused to be hoisted in them; and on the 15th sailed away with his ships to Bombay: the Morattoe fleet at the same time returned to Choul.

The squadron under the command of Mr. Watson arrived at Bombay in the November following, and the fair season being now returned, the presidency with the Morattoes renewed their intentions of attacking Angria; Mr. Watson readily consenting to assist them with the force under his command. It was determined, if practicable, to strike at once at the root of Angria's power, by attacking Gheria, the capital of his dominions, and the principal harbour and arsenal of his marine force: but it was so long since any Englishman had seen this place, that trusting to the report of the natives, they believed it to be at least as strong as Gibraltar, and like that situated on a mountain inaccessible from the sea; for this reason it was resolved to send vessels to reconnoitre it, which service commodore James, in the Protector, with two other ships, performed. He found the enemy's fleet at anchor in the harbour, notwithstanding which he approached within cannon shot of the fort, and having attentively considered it, returned at the end of December to Bombay, and described the place, such as it really was, very strong indeed, but far from being inaccessible or impregnable.

Upon his representation, it was resolved to prosecute the expedition with vigour. The Morattoe army under the command of Ramagee Punt, marched from Choul, and the twenty gun ship, with the sloop of Mr. Watson's squadron, were sent forward to blockade the harbour, where they were soon after joined by commodore James, in the Protector, and another ship, which was of 20 guns, belonging to the company. On the 11th of February the admiral, with the rest of the ships arrived. The whole fleet now united, consisted of four ships of the line, of 70, 64, 60, and 50 guns, one of 44, three of 20, a grab of 12, and five bomb ketches, in all fourteen vessels. Besides the seamen, they had on board a battalion of 800 Europeans with 1000 Sepoys under the command of lieutenant-colonel Clive.

The famous fortress of Gheria is situated on a promontory of rocky land about a mile long and a quarter broad, lying about a mile from the

the entrance of a large harbour, which forms the mouth of a river descending from the Balagat mountains. The promontory projects to the south-west, on the right of the harbour as you enter; it is on the sides contiguous to the water inclosed by a continued rock about fifty feet high, on which are built the fortifications. These are a double wall with round towers, the inward wall rising several feet above the outward. The neck of land by which the promontory joins to the continent, is a narrow sand, beyond which, where the ground begins to expand itself, is built a large open town or *pettah*, for the habitation of such persons whose attendance is not constantly required in the fort. The river directing its course to the south-west washes the north sides of the town, of the neck of land, and of the promontory; on the neck of land are the docks in which the grabs are built and repaired, from whence they are launched into the river: ten of them, amongst which was that taken from the company, were now lying in the river, all tied together, almost opposite to the docks. 1756

Angria, on the appearance of the fleet, was so terrified that he left his town to be defended by his brother, and went and put himself into the hands of the Morattoes, who having crossed the river at some distance from the sea, were already encamped to the eastward of the pettah. Here he endeavoured to prevail on Rama-gee Punt to accept of a ransom for his fort, offering a large sum of money if he would divert the storm that was ready to break upon him: but the Morattoe availing himself of his fear, kept him a prisoner, and extorted from him an order, directing his brother to deliver the fortress to the Morattoes, intending if he could get possession of it in this clandestine manner, to exclude his allies the English from any share of the plunder.

The admiral receiving intelligence of these porceedings, sent a summons to the fort on the morning after his arrival, and receiving no answer, ordered the ships to weigh in the afternoon as soon as the sea-wind set in: they proceeded in two divisions, parallel to each other, the larger covering the bomb ketches and smaller vessels from the fire of the fort: as soon as they had passed the point of the promontory, they stood into the river, and anchoring along the north side of the fortifications, began, at the distance of fifty yards, to batter them

1756 them with 150 pieces of cannon; the bomb ketches at the same time plied their mortars, and within ten minutes after the firing bagan, a shell fell into one of Angria's grabs, which set her on fire; the rest being fastened together with her, soon shared the same fate and in less than an hour this fleet, which had for fifty years been the terror of the Malabar coast, was utterly destroyed. In the mean time the cannonade and bombardment continued furiously, and silenced the enemy's fire; but the governor, however, did not surrender when the night set in. Intelligence being received from a deserter that he intended to give up the place the next day to the Morattoes, colonel Clive landed with the troops; and in order to prevent the Morattoes from carrying their scheme into execution, took up his ground between them and the fort. Early in the morning the admiral summoned the place again, declaring that he would renew the attack, and give no quarter if it was not delivered up to him in an hour: in answer to which the governor desired a cessation of hostilities until the next morning, alledging that he only waited for orders from Angria to comply with the summons. The cannonade was therefore renewed at four in the afternoon; and in less than half an hour the garrison hung out a flag of truce, but nevertheless they did not strike their colours, nor consent to admit the English troops; the ships therefore repeated their fire with more vivacity than ever; and the garrison, unable to stand the shock any longer, called out to the advanced guard of the troops on shore that they were ready to surrender: upon which lieutenant-colonel Clive immediately marched up, and took possession of the fort. It was found that notwithstanding the cannonade had destroyed most of the artificial works upon which they fired, the rock remained a natural and almost impregnable bulwark; so that if the enemy had been endowed with courage sufficient to have maintained the place to extremity, it could only have been taken by regular approaches on the land side. There were found in it 200 pieces of cannon, six brass mortars, and a great quantity of ammunition, and military and naval stores of all kinds: the money and effects of other kinds, amounted to 120,000 pounds sterling. All this booty was divided amongst the captors, without any reserve either for the nation or the company. Besides the vessels which were set on fire during

during the attack, there were two ships, one of them 40 guns, upon the stocks, both of which the captors destroyed. Whilst the fleet were employed in taking on board the plunder, the Morattoes sent detachments to summon several other forts, which surrendered without making any resistance: thus in less than a month, they got possession of all the territories wrested from them by Angria's predecessors, and which they had for seventy years despaired of ever being able to recover. In the beginning of April, the fleet returned to Bombay, where Mr. Watson repaired his squadron, and sailing from thence on the 28th of April, arrived at Madrass on the 12th of May. 1756

The detachment sent from hence with the Nabob to collect the tributes from the northern Polygars, made their progress without being obliged to commit any hostilities. About 50 miles to the northward of Madrass, are the districts of three principal Polygars, named, Bangar Yatcham, Damerla Venkitapah, and Bom-rawze: the first is in possession of Cottapatam, situated on the sea shore, about 65 miles north of Madrass, and his principal town Venkati Gherri is 50 miles inland from the sea. The districts of Damerla Venkitapah extended to the north and west of Bangar Yatcham's but stretch on the western side more to the south: westward of these lye the districts of Bom-rawze, which extend still farther to the south, and approach within thirty miles of the city of Arcot. All the three Polygars consented to acknowledge the Nabob, and compounded their tributes, Bangar Yatcham agreeing to pay 140,000 rupees, Damerla 100,000, and Bom-rawze 80,000. These sums were not equal to the arrers they owed the government; but were accepted, because it would have been imprudent to have vexed them to defection, as the rocks and woods of the countries form an excellent barrier to the more southern parts of the Carnatic: and indeed the Nabob himself was very anxious to draw the army from their districts, in order to employ it against a feudatory of much greater consequence. This was Mortizally, the Phousdar of Velore, whose riches, extensive territory, and the vicinity of his capital to Arcot, rendered him almost as considerable in the province as the Nabob himself: the independance affected by this odious rival preyed upon the Nabob's mind so much, that the presidency, in compliance with his repeated and earnest sollicitations,

 determined

1756 determined to give him the satisfaction of attempting to reduce the city of Velore. Accordingly the detachment returning to Arcot from the expedition against the Polygars was reinforced with two hundred Europeans, two eighteen pounders, and several companies of Sepoys : the whole now amounting to 500 men in battalion, with 1500 Sepoys, encamped the 30th of January within cannon shot to the south of Velore. The Phousdar having early intelligence of their approach, applied for assistance to Mr. de Leyrit, the governor of Pondicherry, who wrote to the presidency of Madrass, that he regarded their proceedings against Velore, as a breach of the truce, and should commence hostilities if the English troops were not immediately withdrawn ; as a proof of which intention, he ordered 700 Europeans, with 2000 Sepoys, to take the field : this vigorous resolution probably proceeded from his knowing that the English squadron were preparing for the expedition against Angria, which would for some months delay their return to the coast of Coromandel. At the same time that major Kilpatrick was alarmed by the approach of such an enemy in his rear, he found the place he was come against, much too strong to be reduced by the force under his command : Mortizally likewise had his anxieties ; for next to the dread of being vigorously attacked, nothing was so terrible to him as the necessity of admitting a body of French troops into his fort ; although to amuse the English, he publickly declared that he should not hesitate to take this step if they commenced hostilities. Both sides therefore, having cogent reasons to avoid them, a negociation was opened, and Mahomed Issoof went into Velore to settle the terms. In the mean time, the Phousdar's agent at Madrass, finding the presidency disconcerted by the resolution which the French had taken, made proposals in behalf of his master ; and the presidency deeming it impossible to subdue the place in the present conjuncture, determined to withdraw their troops and make peace with him, provided he would pay the company 100,000 rupees. In consequence of this resolution, a member of the council was deputed to Velore who on his arrival at the camp, found that the Phousdar had agreed to pay major Kilpatrick 400,000 rupees, if he would immediately retire with the army, and that he had already sent out some sealed bags of money, which, as he said, contained

tained 20,000 rupees, in part of the sum stipulated. But by this 1756
time the Phousdar's agent was returned from Madrass to Velore, having by some very unaccountable means obtained information of the whole extent of the deputy's instructions; this man now came to the camp, and told the deputy what he knew, adding that his master was ready to pay the 100,000 rupees. In this dilemma the deputy thought best to deny the purport of his commission, and to pretend that he was only sent from Madrass to receive the money, which had been offered to major Kilpatrick; and in order to perplex the agent, he took the resolution of returning immediately to Arcot, saying that he should leave major Kilpatrick to finish his own work, and if necessary to commence hostilities. This alarmed the Phousdar not a little, and he immediately sent messengers to desire the French troops to advance; but at the same time sent his agent after the deputy to Arcot, desiring a conference with him at Velore, and promising, with much seeming submission, to agree to whatsoever the English might determine in regard to his dispute with the Nabob. Upon this the deputy returned to the camp, and went into the town, accompanied by Mahomed Issoof and two English officers. After a sumptuous dinner they retired with the Phousdar into a private room; who, instead of making any overtures to pay the money which he had offered to major Kilpatrick, denied that he had ever made such agreement: upon this Mahomed Issoof, who had conducted that business, related what had passed; to which the Phousdar with great composure replied, that all he asserted was a lie. Mahomed Issoof starting from his seat, clapped his hand to his dagger, the Phousdar raised his voice, and the guards of the palace began to be in motion towards the room; but the deputy interposing, convinced him that his own safety depended on forbidding them to approach: after which the conference was re-assumed. However, the Phousdar shewed no inclination to pay more than 200,000 rupees, for which he insisted on receiving, from the presidency of Madrass, a promise that he should not in future be molested, either by the Nabob or themselves. The deputy thinking such a sum no compensation for excluding them from taking advantage of a more favourable opportunity to reduce the place, broke up the conference, and returned to the

 camp;

1756 camp; imagining however, that the Phousdar would soon recollect the impolicy of his conduct, in refusing to comply with his agreement. But by this time the French troops were advanced as far as Arni, and the English not venturing to commence hostilities, not farther proposals were received from him; major Kilpatrick returned soon after with the army to Arcot, and the French troops retired to Pondicherry. The presidency of Madrass were not sorry that the negociation as well as the intended hostilities broke up in this manner; for they had marched against Velore only to indulge the Nabob, being convinced themselves that their force, even without any interruption from the French, was insufficient to reduce the place; which opinion was confirmed to them by the opinion of several of their officers, as well as the deputy, who described it as one of the strongest holds in Indostan; at the same time that its situation and domain rendered it of such importance, that all the supposed treasures of the Phousdar would not have been a compensation for exempting it from the authority of Arcot. The conclusion of this fruitless attempt enabled the presidency to prosecute the reduction of the countries of Madura and Tinivelly.

Maphuze-Khan, after loitering before the Pulitaver's place until the middle of November, returned to Tinivelly, in order to borrow money for the payment of his troops, which could only be obtained by giving assignments of the land to the lenders. Meanwhile the Pulitaver with Moodemiah and Nabi Cawn Catteck, encouraged by their late successes extended their views. The Pulitaver, more from the subtilty and activity of his character, than the extent of his territory and force, had acquired the ascendance in the councils of all the western Polygars of Tinivelly: of these, the most powerful was the Polygar of Vadagherri, whose districts adjoin on the west to the Pulitaver's, and exceeded them in extent and inhabitants: he nevertheless conformed to whatsoever the Pulitaver suggested, and sent his men on every call. The Polygars to the eastward of Tinivelly were under the direction of Catabominaig. The Pulitaver proposed an union between the two divisions; but Catabominaig, as well as his dependant of Etiaporum, having given hostages to colonel Heron, who were in prison at Tritchinopoly, feared for their safety, and refused. The Polygars of Madura, whose districts lie along the foot of the

mountains

mountains to the west, were sollicited with more success, and promised their assistance. Mianah, the fugitive colleague of Moodemiah, and Nabi Cawn Catteck, at the same time spirited up the Polygars of Nattam to join the league, of which the immediate object was nothing less than to get possession of the city of Madura. 1756

Such an extensive confederacy could scarcely be kept a secret. The presidency of Madrass received intelligence of it from captain Calliaud, who commanded in Tritchinopoly, and the Nabob from the governor of Madura. They were, and with reason, greatly alarmed; for Madura, by its situation, extent, and defences, is the bulwark both of its own and the territory of Tinivelly, over neither of which Tritchinopoly could maintain any authority, if Madura were wrested from its dependance. The presidency, although from the first convinced of Maphuze-Khan's incapacity, had hitherto, from deference to the Nabob, treated him with indulgence and respect: but seeing now the whole brought into risque by the successes and designs of the Polygars, they determined to take the administration of these countries into their own hands. A native of Tinivelly, named Moodilee, came about this time to Madrass, and made proposals to take the whole country at farm; but it required time to gain the knowledge necessary to adjust the terms. Mean while it was immediately necessary to provide for the defence of the country; but as no part of the European force could be spared from the services of the Carnatic, it was resolved to send a thousand Sepoys, which were to be joined by those left with Maphuze-Khan, as well as those belonging to the Nabob; and to put the whole of this body under the command of Mahomed Issoof, whose vigorous and enterprising services had been recompensed by a commission appointing him commander in chief of all the Sepoys entertained by the company: he proceeded to Tritchinopoly, soon after the English army returned from Velore; and captain Calliaud was instructed to send him forward with the appointed force and equipments.

Meanwhile the Pulitaver, Nabi Cawn Catteck and Moodemiah with their allies had proceeded to action, and in the middle of February entered the districts of Nadamundalum, which occupy a considerable extent, about midway between the city of Madura and the Pulitaver's

place.

1756 place. The fort which commands these districts is called Chevelpetore, and is situated at the foot of the western mountains, about 45 miles south-west of Madura. The troops stationed for the defence of the fort and districts, were under the command of Abdul Rahim, a half brother to the Nabob and Maphuze-Cawn, the same with whom Lieutenant Innis marched into those countries in the year 1751, and of Abdull-mally another relation to the family: the foot, excepting 200 Sepoys, were the usual rabble allotted to the guard of villages; but there were 500 horse, esteemed the best in Maphuze-Khan's service, who proud of their prowess, and their quality of Mahomedans, held the enemy, as Indians, and of no military reputation, in utter contempt, and encouraged their own commanders to risque a battle; in which they were surrounded, but with sufficient gallantry, and considerable loss, cut their way through, and retired to Chevelpetore. Here Abdull Rahim and Abdull-mally intended to maintain themselves, until succours should arrive, either from Madura or Tinivelly; but the men of the cavalry, dissatisfied for want of pay, and fearful of losing their horses through want of provisions during the siege, marched away, and many of them joined the enemy: the fort was immediately invested and soon after reduced, but the two commanders escaped again.

This success encouraged the Madura Polygars, who had hitherto only looked on, to join according to their promise; and the whole camp now consisted of 25000 men, of which 1000 were cavalry. Their chiefs animated by this superiority of numbers determined to give battle to Maphuze-Cawn at Tinivelly, before they attacked the city of Madura. By this time Maphuze-Cawn had prevailed on Catabominaig, by the cession of some districts and the promise of other advantages, to join him with the forces of the eastern Polygars, and had likewise levied all the horse and foot of whatsoever kind which could be procured; but his principal strength was the 1500 horse he had before, and the body of 1000 Sepoys belonging to the company under the command of Jemaul Saheb, whose losses had been recruited with effective men. The battle was fought on the 21st of March, within seven miles of Tinivelly, and was maintained with more obstinacy than usual in the fights of this country, until Moodemiah fell;

3 he

ell; he was cut down charging bravely with his cavalry; the rout 1756
hen became general; 2000 Colleries were slain, and 300 horse, with all the cannon and elephants were taken. This victory saved Madura, or it entirely broke the army of the confederates, all of whom, and he Pulitaver with as much terror as any, hurried from the field to he shelter of their respective homes.

The news of the victory was brought to Tritchinopoly on the 24th f March, by which time Mahomed Issoof was ready to proceed: is detachment consisted of 1200 Sepoys, 100 Caffries, 150 Colle-ies, and 4 field pieces, with an 18 pounder managed by Europeans. 'he king of Tanjore and the Polygar Tondiman, had been requested o join some of their troops to the detachment: the interposition of he presidency to stop their quarrel, having offended the one, as much s it was acceptable to the other, the king refused, but the Polygar romised the assistance required. For some time before the departure f the detachment, Catabominaig and the Polygar of Etiaporum had een treating with captain Calliaud for the redemption of their hos-ages, and it was agreed that the money should be paid on their being elivered to Tondiman. Mahomed Issoof therefore took the hostages rith him, and directed his march to Puducotah, the principal town elonging to Tondiman, to whose care they were surrendered. The roops of Tondiman not being ready, Mahomed Issoof requested they night follow, and continued his rout, marching, not through the ass, but to the eastward of the hills which bound and make part of he forest of Nattam: he then struck to the westward through Ti-ambore, where stands the pagoda of Coilguddy. On the 6th of April he arrived at Madura, where he was joined on the 10th by Tondiman's brother-in-law, with some Peons, Colleries, and horse, vhich remained with him at the company's expence. The governor of Madura, Danish Mend Khan, wished, although he did not know now, to preclude Mahomed Issoof from any interference with the garrison; but Mahomed Issoof with his usual pertinacity examined every thing strictly, and found every thing in such disorder, that he was convinced the place might have been taken, if it had been at-tempted by no other force than that of the Nattam Colleries under the conduct of Mianah: nevertheless it was with reluctance the go-vernor

1756 vernor could be induced to receive a reinforcement of two companies of Sepoys into the town. Having employed some days in refitting his carriages and stores, he proceeded to the fort of Chevelpetore, which, notwithstanding their late defeat, remained in the hands of the enemy ; but they abandoned it on his appearance. Leaving a sufficient garrison to defend it in future, he proceeded across the Nadamundalum country to Cayetar, a town about 25 miles north of Tinivelly, where Maphuze-Cawn was waiting for him with his victorious but inactive army.

During this progress Mahomed Issoof had not been able to collect any money from the revenues, for the maintenance of his troops ; because the ravages of the Polygars had ruined most of the villages and cultivated lands of the country through which he passed ; and the real detriment of these devastations was increased by the pretences they furnished the land-holders to falsify their accounts, and plead exemptions for more than they had lost. He found Maphuze-Cawn in greater distress than himself, unable either to fulfil the stipulations at which he had rented the country from colonel Heron, or to supply the pay of the company's Sepoys left with him under the command of Jemaul Saheb, or even to furnish enough, exclusive of long arrears, for the daily subsistance of his own troops. This distress naturally deprived him of the necessary authority over the Jemmadars, or officers of his cavalry, who in Indostan, as the antient mercenary captains of Italy, hire out their bands, and gain not a little by the bargain. Every kind of disorder likewise prevailed in all the other departments of his administration, at the same time that the indolence and irresolution of his own character confirmed all the evils which had been introduced into his government.

From Cayetar, Maphuze-Cawn and Mahomed Issoof moved with the whole army to the woods of Etiaporum, which lie about 30 miles to the East of Cayetar : Catabominaig and the Polygar of Etiaporum, were in the camp : the former had by his agents redeemed his hostages at Puducottah, but the other still delayed ; and this motion was made to excite his fears, although no threats were used ; he nevertheless still procrastinated, and his alliance was at this time deemed

deemed too valuable, to compel him by the exercise of hostilities. 1756
From Etiaporum they crossed the country to Coilorepettah, a strong fort situated near the great road; it belonged to a Polygar named Condam-naigue, who on the first summons promised without hesitation to pay the tribute demanded of him; but continued day after day to send pretences and excuses instead of the money: at length Mahomed Issoof finding himself trifled with, battered, and then stormed the fort. It was well defended. The serjeant of the Coffres, and 8 of that company were killed: of the Sepoys 8 with the commander of one of the companies were killed, and 65 were wounded: the Colleries suffered still more, and all who were not killed, were made prisoners, amongst whom, the Polygar himself. From Coilorepettah, the whole army proceeded to Chevelpetore, and encamped under this fort on the 10th of June, where most of the neighbouring Polygars, terrified by the example of Coilorepettah, made their submissions either in person or by their agents. Even the Politaver with his usual duplicity sent one with proposals of reconciliation, and the Polygar of Elerampenah, whose place lies between Coilorepettah and Chevelpetore, redeemed his hostages. But the Polygar of Calaneandan, which lies 13 miles north-east of Chevelpetore, paying no regard to the usual summons, Mahomed Issoof marched and attacked his fort, which was abandoned after a slight resistance.

The presidency of Madrass, after the retreat of their army from Velore, had had no provocations worthy the contest, to induce them to engage in any military operations in the Carnatic, at the risque of drawing the French again into the field; and the government of Pondicherry, conducting themselves by intelligence, of which the English were ignorant, were equally averse to venture any hostilities that might diminish their means of maintaining the advantages they had acquired in the Decan, which from their former security were at this time approaching to the utmost risque and uncertainty. In the month of February of this year, Salabad-jing took the field again, and marched against the city of Savanore, the capital of one of the three Pitan Nabobs, by whose treachery both Nazir-jing and Murzafa-jing had lost their lives. The successor of this Nabob had hitherto re-

1756 fused to acknowledge the authority of Salabad-jing, and had lately entered into a defensive alliance with the Morattoe Morari-row, who with the same spirit of independence had likewise refused to pay allegiance to his sovereign the Sahah Rajah, or Prince of the Morattoe nations. The city of Savanore, or Sanore, lyeth about 200 miles south-west of Golcondah, and about 30 to the north-west of Bisnagar : it is extensive, well peopled, situated in a great plain, and surrounded by a wall with round bastions and towers. On a rock about a mile and a half from the city is a very strong fortress, called Bancapour, whence the capital is generally called by the two names together of Sanore Bancapour, to distinguish it from another town belonging to a Polygar in those countries, which is likewise called Sanore. The country of which Morari-row had taken possession, lies about 220 miles south of Golcondah ; to the north it adjoins the territory of Canoul ; to the south, the country of Colala ; and to the west, the country of Sanore Bancapour. At the time of this expedition against the Pitan and the Morattoe, Seid Laskar-Khan no longer held the office of Duan to Salabad-jing : for notwithstanding the oaths of his reconciliation with Mr. Bussy at Aurengabad in 1753, he secretly continued to thwart all his purposes ; on conviction of which Mr. Bussy removed him from that employment, and in his stead replaced Shanavaze Khan, who himself had been removed for the other. At what time this change was made we do not know ; but Shanavaze Khan was at the head of the administration when the army took the field, and had as much concealed aversion to the French interests as his predecessor. Jaffer Ally Khan, the late Nabob of Rajahmundrum, had received lands in the Decan in Jagier, or fief, from Salabad-jing, when he made his submissions at Aurengabad in 1754 ; and, in consequence of this feudal obligation, now accompanied his lord with a body of troops : he was esteemed an active soldier, and having been deprived of his government because his country had been ceded to the French company, bore much hatred to Mr. Bussy and all his nation : being therefore united with Shanavaze Khan, the friends and connexions of both formed a very powerful party, determined if possible to rescue Salabad-jing from the influence which his European allies had obtained over all his councils.

6 Peace

Peace subsisting at this time between Balagerow and Salabad-jing, it 1756
had been concerted by Shanavaze Khan, that Balagerow should march from Poni, to punish Morari-row, at the same time that Salabad-jing took the field against Savanore. The two armies met, united, and agreed to assist each other in the reduction of their disobedient vassals, beginning with Savanore. But before they arrived at the city, Morari-row had reinforced the garrison with a considerable body of Morattoes, and commanded them himself in person. The French company were indebted to him a large sum on account of his services in the war of Tritchinopoly, for which the government of Pondicherry had given their bond; and he had often threatened mischief to their affairs, wheresoever the opportunity should offer, if the money were not paid. But now seeing the great force that was coming against himself and Sanore, he privately offered to relinquish his claim upon the French company, if Mr. Bussy would effect his reconciliation with Balagerow upon moderate terms. A negociation ensued; it was entirely conducted by Mr. Bussy; and the Duan, so far from impeding, was secretly rejoiced that he should adjust the terms. We have obtained no information what they were, farther than that the Nabob of Sanore and Morari-row made their submissions to their respective superiors, and Morari-row gave up to Nr. Bussy the bond of the French company. As soon as the peace was concluded, the Duan struck the blow he had long meditated, representing to Salabad-jing "that the city "of Sanore might have been easily taken, if Mr. Bussy had not preferred the interest of the French company with Morari-row to "those of the Soubahship with its vassals: that the French had "never supplied any money to his government from the province of "Arcot, although it was now five years since they had been entrusted "with the administration of that country; whereas the ally of the "English, Mahomed Ally, was at this very time solliciting the same "patents for himself, proffering an annual tribute of three millions "and two hundred thousand rupees, and an immediate present of one "million two hundred thousand, as soon as he should receive the pa-"tents." Whoever has considered the whole tenor of our narrative, will easily have discerned that the opposition of the English arms had

1756 left the French no great gainers by their titular acquisition of the province of Arcot; and we cannot determine what truth there might be in the allegation of the offers made by Mahomed Ally, because the presidency of Madrass knew nothing of them: however, it appears that Mr. Bussy believed it; and the inveteracy of Jaffer Ally Khan, who had always some correspondence with the English, prompted this lord, although without any authority, to assure Salabad-jing, that if he would remove the French troops from his service, their place should be immediately supplied by an equal body of English. The party against the French was every day strengthened by the accession of other lords; and Salabad-jing, although he respected Mr. Bussy, had not resolution enough to oppose this powerful combination.

Shanavaze Khan now communicated the intentions of the confederacy to Balagerow, and sollicited his assistance, as in a common cause, to rid the Soubah and the Decan of these dangerous intruders, proposing, as the shortest and surest means, to begin by assassinating Mr. Bussy. Civilities had passed between Balagerow and Mr. Bussy, not only during the present campaign, but on former occasions, and they mutually esteemed each other; from which, and his own character, which was superior to most in Indostan, he rejected the proposal of assassination with disdain: from another motive he likewise refused to commit any hostilities against the French troops; being not without views of attaching Mr. Bussy to his own service, if the animosity between him and the ministry of Salabad-jing should become irreconcileable. Shanavaze Khan, although much disappointed by the refusal of Balagerow, nevertheless persisted in his purpose, and signified to Mr. Bussy, in the name of Salabad-jing, the resolution of dismissing the French troops from his service, ordering them to retire out of his territories without delay; but promising that, if they committed no hostilities, they should receive no molestation in their retreat.

Mr. Bussy knew full well that Salabad-jing had concurred to this resolution more from imbecility than inclination: and hoping that some favourable incident, in a government so fertile in events, would soon induce him to recall the French troops, received the order of dismission, without manifesting any resentment, and said that he was

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as desirous as his enemies to quit a connexion fraught with so much 1756
jealousy and discontent. Accordingly he immediately removed, and encamped all his force at some distance from the army of Salabad-jing, giving out that he intended to proceed to Masulipatnam. At the same time he dispatched letters to the government of Pondicherry, requesting them to send to that place with the utmost expedition all the force which could be spared from the services of Coromandel. At the same time Salabad-jing, now entirely governed by Shanavaze Khan, likewise dispatched letters, which were followed by an agent, to the presidency of Madrass, requesting that they would immediately send a body of troops to assist in expelling the French out of his dominions.

The very day that the French troops quitted the army of Salabad-jing, Balagerow sent a deputation of his principal officers to Mr. Bussy, congratulating him on his separation from so perfidious and ungrateful a nation as the Moors: these were his expressions: and sollicited his alliance, proposing that the French troops should act as auxiliaries to the Morattoes, as they had to Salabad-jing; and proffering the same allowances to the troops, the same emoluments to Mr. Bussy himself, and as great advantages to the French company, as had been granted by that prince. Mr. Bussy declined to accept this offer, by the obvious excuse of his dependance on the orders of Pondicherry; and began his march. Nevertheless Balagerow, with a spirit of chivalry of which as little now remains in the eastern as in the western part of the world, detached a body of 6000 horse with orders to accompany Mr. Bussy until he should think himself out of the reach of pursuit or interruption from the Soubah's forces; and to leave nothing wanting to the consummation of this politeness, this cavalry was commanded by a general of the first distinction amongst the Morattoes for his riches, and of the highest reputation, next to Balagerow himself, for his military talents. His name was Malarjee Holcar.

The French troops were 600 Europeans in battalion, 5000 well-disciplined Sepoys, a well-appointed train of field artillery, two troops of Hussars, one of dragoons, and one of grenadiers; in all 200 European riders. This force, with the Morattoe cavalry, were more than able to cope with the whole army of Salabad-jing. After eight days

march

1756 march without any appearance of opposition, Mr. Bussy dismissed the Morattoes, making greatful acknowledgments, and some presents to Holcar and Balagerow. But he was mistaken in his security; for Shanavaze Khan receiving by his spies and scouts very expeditious information of the departure of the Morattoes, immediately detached 25000 men, horse and foot, under the command of Jaffer Ally Khan, in pursuit of the French troops. Orders had also been previously sent to all the chiefs of the neighbouring countries to obstruct their progress; but none of these ventured the risque, until they came to the districts of a Polygar, named Maladirao, situated near the bank of the Kristna, about 90 miles to the south-west of Hyderabad; who confiding in the thickness of his woods, and the perplexities of the ways which traversed them, harrassed the line of march for some hours, and killed some men, amongst whom an officer of reputation named La Martiniere. Marching on from the woods without intermission, they found the Kristna fordable, and passed it without delay; and just as the last picquet had got over, the river began to swell, and the van of Jaffer Ally Khan's army appeared on the other bank; where they were detained 15 days by this interruption, which permitted the French troops to proceed at leisure, and without further molestation. What remained of the march to Masulipatnam, even in the shortest road, was more than 200 miles; and through a very embarrassed and inhospitable country. Sickness prevailed amongst the Europeans, the stores of ammunition were not sufficient for any long continuation of service, provisions failed, money was still more scarce, the Sepoys began to murmur and desert for want of pay; and Mr. Bussy knowing that these distresses could no where be so well redressed, as by means of the connexions which he maintained at Hyderabad, turned his march to this city, and arrived there on the 14th of June.

The city of Hyderabad is situated 60 miles north from the Kristna. It is enclosed by a wall 20 feet high, defended by small round towers. The river Moussi coming from the westward, runs near the northern part of the walls, from which it is separated by a strand, which it sometimes overflows in the rains. The city extends along the course of the river only one mile, but recedes from it three. There is a stone bridge,

bridge, but not of arches, 300 yards in length over the river. The garrison at this time was but slender, for most of the established troops of the government had marched with Salabad-jing. 1756

The French troops encamped about a mile to the westward of the city, and their appearance terrified the inhabitants; but on receiving assurances from Mr. Bussy that no violence was intended, if his army were not treated as enemies, quiet was restored, and the common intercourses of peace were carried on between the camp and the city: the bankers moreover lent Mr. Bussy money on his own credit, with which he discharged the pay due to the Sepoys; and they instead of being satisfied with this equity, demanded an advance for the time coming, which not being given, whole companies of them together deserted. Some bullocks which had been sent to bring grain from a village about 15 miles from the city, were attacked and taken by the troops of the district, joined by a few straggling Morattoes, who had crossed the Kristna just before it rose: on which Mr. Bussy sent an agent named Romi Khan, whom he usually employed in such messages, to the governor of the city, requesting he would either restore the bullocks that had been taken, or make restitution of an equal number. The governor, by name Ibrahim-ally, was nephew to Jaffer-ally Khan, and married to one of his daugthers; and partaking of his uncle's animosity to Mr. Bussy, treated the message with indignation, and the messenger with contempt, who retorted with insolence; this produced abuse, which Romi Khan revenged on the spot, by stabbing Ibrahim-ally to the heart with his poignard, and was himself immediately cut down by the attendants. But even this event did not excite any aversion to the French in the inhabitants of the city; for the people of Indostan are generally so much oppressed, that if they do not rejoice, at least they rarely regret the loss of any of their rulers; unless amongst some of the Indian states, in which religion and antiquity hath annexed veneration to the descendants of their ancient princes.

Although no diligence had been omitted, the French army were not ready to proceed from Hyderabad before the Morattoe cavalry of Salabad-jing's army came up: they were 12,000 under several chiefs independant of Balagerow, who held fiefs under the Mogul government in the Decan, on condition of military service. This cavalry appeared

peared

1756 peared on the 26th of June, and encamped about six miles from the French army. The next day their generals summoned Mr. Bussy, in the name of Salabad-jing, to surrender all his artillery, excepting the six field pieces which had brought from Pondicherry, and to relinquish the attributes of his Moorish dignities, promising on these conditions to let him proceed quietly to Masulipatnam. Mr. Bussy replied, that he acknowledged the mandates of no man to disarm himself, and that he held his dignities from the Emperor, not from Salabad-jing. Messages of negociation nevertheless continued.

On the 30th of June the lieutenant of Hussars went forth with half the troop to reconnoitre, and, being short sighted, led them without suspecting the danger into covered and unequal ground, where they were suddenly surrounded by a much superior number of Morattoes, issuing from the other side of a hill, who immediately attacked them on all sides. The Hussars, as is the custom of these troops in such emergencies, endeavoured to disperse, and each man to save himself as he best could: the rest of the troop in the camp seeing the danger of their comrades, mounted and galloped to their assistance, not in a compact body, to which the others might rally, but all singling out different antagonists; in which irregular manner of combat, the Morattoes themselves are equal to any horsemen in the world. The troop of French dragoons seeing the Hussars in flight, mounted and sallied to cover their retreat, but in regular order; and the Morattoes awed by their discipline quitted the fight, having killed the lieutenant and two Hussars, and desperately wounded twenty-seven others: they likewise took six horses; and sent away seven caps or hats which they had picked up on the field, as a trophy of their victory, to Salabad-jing. Their chiefs, elated by this success, proposed such extravagant terms, that Mr. Bussy, knowing they would become more arrogant the more sollicitude he shewed for peace, broke off the negociation abruptly, and consulted his officers on the future operations of the war.

He represented to them, that "defective as their force was in cavalry, it would scarcely be possible for the infantry and artillery alone "to protect the long train of carriages required for the sick, baggage, "stores, provisions, and ammunition, through a march of 200 miles "to

to Masulipatnam, from the incessant attacks of the Morattoes, as 1756
well as Salabad-jing's cavalry, which were approaching : and if they should gain their way to this place, other evils would be the consequence of their success ; since the enemy accompanying their progress would carry the ravages of war into the ceded provinces ; and by ruining the revenues, would cut off the only resource which remained for the maintenance of the army." He therefore proosed that "they should stand their ground where they were ; that altho' the city itself was too extensive and too weak to be defended by their force, there was a post at hand capable of containing the army and all its equipments ; in which they should defend themselves to extremity, in expectation of the reinforcements he had requested from Pondicherry, and not without hopes that the good disposition of Salabad-jing himself might prevail over the evil intentions of his ministers and produce a reconciliation, which in all probability would be precluded for ever, if the army retreated to such a distance as Masulipatnam : at all events they could at last retreat."

All the officers concurred in opinion with their general. The post hey resolved to take, was a palace of retirement from business, built y the kings of Golcondah, when mighty. It is called the garden of Charmaul, and is an enclosure of 600 by 500 yards : it is situated n the strand of the river Moussi, and in the north-west angle of the ity : in the middle is a great tank of water, square, and lined to the ottom with steps of stone : at some distance, are four great buildngs, one facing each side of the tank, separated from each other, and ll together capable of lodging a multitude. Early in the morning f the 5th of July, the day after the council, the French army began o move from their camp ; at the same time the advanced guards, stablished towards the enemy's camp, remained in their posts ; for he Morattoes were in the field ; who nevertheless did not venture to ttack any part of the line, excepting the last troops as they were uitting the advanced posts, by whom they were repulsed ; but still hovered around. Mr. Bussy therefore waited in the plain until the evening, when the whole army entered the garden without interruption.

1756 About this time the agent sent by Salabad-jing from Sanore arrived at Madrass: the letters announcing the purport of his embassy were received some days before; but the full extent of Salabad-jing's proposals remained to be explained by the agent in person. Nothing could be more acceptable to the presidency than the invitation he brought; for since the disappointment of the expedition, which the company had projected to be carried on from Bombay, they despaired of having another opportunity of striking at the French influence in the northern parts of the Decan; on which, nevertheless, the very existence of the English on the coast of Coromandel seemed to depend. They therefore with great alacrity assured Salabad-jing of their intentions to comply with his request, and were on the point of ordering a detachment of 300 Europeans and 1500 Sepoys to take the field; when in the middle of July they received letters from Bengal, informing them of the greatest danger that had ever threatened the company's estate in the East Indies; to retrieve which from utter perdition required nothing less than the exertion of the utmost force that could be spared from the coast of Coromandel.

The END *of the* FIFTH BOOK.

ALTERATION.

IN Page 252, instead of the Paragraph beginning with the words "In the month of August Salabad-jing exhibited"—and ending "an embassador from the great Mogul"—Read as follows.

In the month of August Salabad-jing exhibited another ceremony 1752 to amuse the people receiving a delegate from Delhi, who brought, as was pretended, the serpaw, or vest, with the sword, and other symbols of sovereignty, which the Great Mogul sends to his viceroys, on their appointments. He remained at Aurengabad during the rest of this year settling his government, without the interruption of any military operations. But in the spring of the next year 1752, Balagerow, encouraged as before by Ghazi-o-dean Khan from Delhi, invaded his dominions with 40,000 horse, which separating in various detachments, committed all kind of ravage and devastation. The river Gunga flowing about 35 miles to the westward of Aurengabad, was at this time the boundary between the territories of the Soubahship and of Balagerow, whose capital, Poni, is by the usual road about 130 miles distant from the other city, and had no kind of defences. Salabad-jing having taken the field with all his forces, submitted the direction of the campaign to Mr. Bussy, who instead of opposing the incursions of the Morattoes into the territories of the Soubahship, retaliated the same mischiefs in their country, and advanced within 30 miles of Poni. This soon recalled the Morattoes, who burnt all their own villages in front and on either hand of his progress; and even destroyed their granaries in Poni itself. At the same time their detachments interrupted, harrassed, and cut off the Soubah's convoys of provisions, all of which came from behind, and from far. They likewise several times insulted the Soubah's encampments, but in these skirmishes were always repulsed with loss by the

 French

1752 French musketry and artillery. Nevertheless the Soubah's army was almost famished: and the countries of both having suffered equally by this wasteful war, Balagerow consented to a cessation of hostilities for a present of 100,000 rupees. This treaty was concluded in the beginning of July; when Salabad-jing, without returning to Aurengabad, proceeded with his whole army towards Golcondah; and in the rout exacted the submissions and received the tributes due from several refractory Zemindars; but the Rajah of Neirmel, the most powerful in these parts of the Decan and several others of inferior note, united, and opposed the army of Salabad-jing, with all their forces, which were very numerous, but irregular: a general battle ensued, in which the Rajahs were routed, and Neirmel himself slain; after which Salabad-jing met no farther opposition during the rest of his progress to Golcondah. In the beginning of this campaign, Mr. Bussy hearing of the decline of Chunda-saheb's fortunes at Tritchinopoly, employed the influence which the expectation of his immediate services gave him over the councils of Salabad-jing, to obtain a commission, appointing Mr. Dupleix Nabob of the Carnatic, notwithstanding that Chunda-saheb was at that time alive; this, with several other pompous patents, was sent to Pondicherry, and Salabad-jing promised they should soon be followed by an ambassador from the Great Mogul.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

C, c, Coast. Eng, eng. English. Fr, fr, French. I, Island. K, King. *m*, mentioned m, miles. Nab, Nabob. *p*, page. Prov. prov. Province. Sep. Sepoys.

Carnatic

Ariancopang,

B.

C.

3

Devi

E.

services,

 abandon

BOMBAY

European

G.

H.

I, J.

K.

Monacgee

patrole

O.

P.

PALK.

- *POLYGAR*

RAFFEIH

April

JING

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and

U.

V.

END OF THE INDEX.

ALPHABET TO THE INDEX.

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Facquires.

Y y y *Moorish*

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